

A National/International Political organ fighting for the oppressed Black Masses from the Americas to Africa

# ARM THE MASSES

"the era of the Masses, people's power  
which places all authority, wealth  
and arms in the hands of the People"



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## YOUNG, GIFTED & BLACK Revolutionary Youth





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## ARM THE MASSES

### What we believe:

**Revolutionary nationalism and socialism for the Black Nation, forty million Africans captured inside the racist, capitalist USA. The Black Nation is constituted by a distinct history and psychology shaped by racial and national oppression of its people and their resistance to national oppression; a historically-developed land-base concentrated in the southern USA; a common language shaped with its own cultural idiom; a common economic way of life, underdeveloped due to racism. Africans are mainly wage-slaves to capitalism who will never control the means of production, but all are subject to racist exploitation across class lines. The struggle of Africans inside the USA is a human rights struggle for self-determination, national liberation and the freedom to control African people's destiny free of Racism, Capitalism, and Imperialism.**

**FREEDOM OR DEATH!**

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# No Justice!

legal news and analysis



'Bootcamps: another way New York warehouses 1500 of our youth.'

## JUSTICE AND BLACK YOUTH

by Raheem Williams

We are supposed to enter the New Year with an optimism, a view of a new beginning, a time to redress old wrongs. For all African people, those of us held to greater or lesser degrees of captivity in the clear glass cells of North America, our optimism must be a guarded one. Guarded because there is no guarantee for our future, because our younger generation is in jeopardy. Our youth are victims of and, in some cases, unwitting collaborators in the state's plan to eliminate us as a people. *Genocide*, as defined by the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, "is any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group." [Article II]. [editor's emphasis]

The plan of extermination is not an obvious one. If we look for Nazi gas chambers, we will miss it. After all, this is 1994, and these are the great democratic United States of America. There is a degree of sophistication involved here. This process of elimination takes many forms: Maintain a Black infant mortality rate which is twice that of the white population; Flood the Black community with drugs which

not only physically destroy the users, but cause them to commit violent acts against any and everybody; Provide a mis or non-education whose goal is to prepare its graduates for a life of employment behind prison bars; Make high technology weapons more available than jobs; Provide few opportunities for social and cultural development; Give police a license to kill in communities of color; Control a mass media which portrays Black youth as amoral, anti-social criminals.

The criminal justice system is a key component in this multi-faceted attack on our people. In earlier columns we have discussed the statistics that clearly demonstrate the racism which explains the wildly disproportionate rate of incarceration for young Black men. On any given day, one out of four Black men in the US between the ages of 17 and 25 is involved in some aspect of the penal system - incarceration, arrest, parole or probation. The New York State prison population alone is nearly 90% Black and Latino, although we are less than a third of the state's population.

The prisons themselves are simply human warehouses and sweatshops. There is no pretense of rehabilitation for a productive life on the outside. What they do provide are advanced degrees in crime. Given the realities of the US economy, the job prospects for any young Black are bleak. And for those coming out of prison employment is almost nonexistent. Thus young Black ex-convicts are almost inevitably headed back to the life style that landed them in jail in the first place.

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## National Review

## San Francisco Housing Project Under Siege

by Ron Crenshaw

*Masses United for Human Rights*

Geneva Towers are two twenty story buildings in San Francisco, California. Two years ago they housed 3,000 people. Now, with the continued forced evictions caused by the federal Housing and Urban Development Commission, there are only 800 left. The building's tenants are intimidated under a twenty four hour armed guard patrol and the Rembrandt Security men actually fondle female children while they forcibly pin red ribbons on their blouses. The red ribbons and banners were part of a campaign that HUD started to make the tenants feel that Geneva Towers was a drug free zone. Mr. Elzie Lee Byrd, 58 year old co-chair of the Geneva Towers Tenants Association, spoke out against guard molestation of the young girls. He was cornered in a crowded elevator and karate chopped by two armed guards.

In the past 18 months a long list of criminal acts have been committed by HUD and its managing agents. These acts have been cited and brought to the attention of City Hall and Washington, D.C. The violations have ranged from rapes committed by guards to embezzlement of federal funds.

However, each agency that has had the ability to remedy these violations has either denied these acts did occur or falsely claimed they had no authority in the matter.

Recently with the assistance of a Black contractor's group the Tenants Association has won a court case against HUD. HUD wanted to evict some tenants because they were flying a protest banner in front of the building.

The latest incident to occur is the management decided to paint the apartments after 20 years and as a result each tenant is going to receive a bill for \$1,000 with their rent statement. All of this is not enough. The HUD inspector searches apartments for "illegal" washing machines and other minor violations, while ventilation shafts are full of friable asbestos and elevators lurch like a rubberband recoiling from being overextended.

Through this turmoil we can see the perennial class conflict (HUD, an arm of the government/the ruling class) restricting and creating conditions that are unsettling for working class people. The Towers are in an area that is slated for redevelopment and the tenants are hindrances to the grand plan to remake the city for the "right" people at the "right" price.

## NEW ORLEANS:

### Same Game, Different Name

Police officer Kevin Feener was found guilty November 18, 1993 of "negligent homicide" in the shooting death of Vergil Broud. Vergil was 18 years old when he was murdered October 5, 1992 in New Orleans, Louisiana. *Labor's Champion* reports that Broud and a cousin were walking home at night from a nearby store when two police stopped them and ordered them to "get your f... asses against the car." Broud and his cousin assumed the search position and Broud asked why they were being

stopped and searched. Officer Fenner then began to beat Broud in the head with a nightstick. Broud resisted this assault and was shot for the affront.

Ongoing demonstrations by Broud's family and friends, the community and the Revolutionary Political Organization (Marxist-Leninist) and the African-American Liberation League pressured some small measure of justice in this case of police brutality.

Unfortunately, the same story is carried out all over the country.



## Don Pedro Albizu Campos: One of Many Radiation Experiment Victims A Lonely Voice Finally Heard

by Juan Gonzalez

Reprinted from *The Daily News*

In 1951, a Puerto Rican being held in solitary confinement in San Juan's La Princesa prison charged that the US government was bombarding him with radiation.

At the time, Americans were had no idea that radiation experiments on unsuspecting citizens were already in full swing at several federal agencies. Only now, in a mushrooming national scandal, has it been revealed that these experiments went on for decades using war veterans, prisoners, the old and the mentally ill as guinea pigs, at times without their consent.

But 40 years ago, a lone Puerto

Rican making these charges in faraway San Juan was instantly written off as delusional, even though there was substantial evidence - extensive unexplained burns on his body and Geiger counters that went bonkers when brought near him.

This was no ordinary prisoner. He was a magna cum laude graduate of Harvard College in chemical engineering, possessed a Harvard law degree, spoke several languages, was admired by many Latin American leaders and is still considered one of the most brilliant

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## Feds Cheated Black Farmer

Reprinted from *Southern Exposure*, Winter 1993

Black farmers have been losing ground rapidly over the past decade. Since 1980, the number of Black-owned farms has declined from 45,000 to fewer than 15,000. Minority growers have blamed the federal Farmers Home Administration for speeding up the land loss with discriminatory lending practices; a 1990 Congressional report agreed that FmHA has been a "catalyst" in the crisis.

Now one farmer has been vindicated in his claim against the agency. The Department of Agriculture has determined that FmHA officials in Georgia blatantly discriminated against Welch Long, a 70-year old Black grower in Ebert County. Administrators knowingly lent Long more money than he could repay, denied him mandatory technical assistance, and withheld needed funds.

Long first borrowed from the agency in 1978 to plant wheat, cont. on page 16



## International

## Black Nicaraguans Suffer Under New Regime

Reprint from *Final Call*  
by James Muhammad

There are two Nicaragua's says Ray Hooker. One is where the Spaniards on voyages from Europe went and wiped out the indigenous peoples: The Pacific region. The other Nicaragua is where Mr. Hooker lives and is held in high esteem by his people: The Atlantic region. The Atlantic region is the region running along the Atlantic coast, an area of tropical rainforest and mineral wealth.

Because of the region's thick vegetation, the Spaniards - after landing on the Atlantic coast in search of gold and other treasures - took their expeditions across the continent to the Pacific coastal region where mining was easier. But there was another reason the Spaniards didn't stay in the Atlantic region. "We fought them to a standstill," Mr. Hooker says.

Today, the people of the Atlantic region are in another fight for survival. A place where slaves on three occasions escaped from

their ships and sought refuge among the native peoples, the Atlantic region was recognized by the previous Sandinista government of Daniel Ortega as an autonomous region. Since the election of the US backed administration of Violeta Chamorro, self rule for the region has been ignored. Mr. Hooker says, "Her government is for the rich to benefit the rich." Before the new government took over there was 10 percent unemployment, today it is 60 percent.

Mr. Hooker is Creole and a Sandinista supporter, and is one of the principal drafters of the Nicaraguan Constitution, and is known for his outspokenness on Afro-Caribbean and native rights.

The Atlantic coast population consists of English speaking Creole Blacks, Miskito Indians, and other indigenous Indian groups. Autonomy legislation provides for regional self-government, control of mineral resources and economic, educational and diplomatic rights for its citizens.

Mr. Hooker says the US has a



Young Sandinista soldier fighting for the rights of all the Nicaraguan people in 1986. The numbers of youth who gave their lives in battle against oppression is immeasurable.

track record of opposing freedom for the Black and indigenous peoples of Nicaragua. In 1894, the Nicaraguan government tried to take the land from the peoples in the Atlantic region but were defeated. President Jose Santo Zelaya then

asked the US to send its military to help the Spanish-speaking people of the country to defeat the Blacks and indigenous peoples of the land -

cont. on page 17

## The Philippines Pays the Price of Freedom

Reprinted from *World Press Review*, December 1993.

The Philippines is paying a heavy price for the eviction of the US navy from its longtime base at Subic Bay. Already the US Congress has barred Washington from any financial involvement in converting the Subic base into a special trade zone, and Congress is threatening to end US support for the Multilateral Assistance Initiative (MAI) for the Philippines launched in 1989, reports Susumu Awanohara in the newsmagazine *Far Eastern Economic Review* of Hong Kong.

"The growing chill in the relationship between Washington and Manila has repercussions well beyond the borders of the Philippines," Awanohara writes. "Governments throughout the region [want] the US to maintain a strong economic presence in the Philippines and thereby help keep the Japanese in check."

Yet, Awanohara notes, Tokyo's contribution to the MAI has swelled to more than \$1 billion in a year - compared with \$40 million requested by the Clinton administration for the fiscal year 1994.

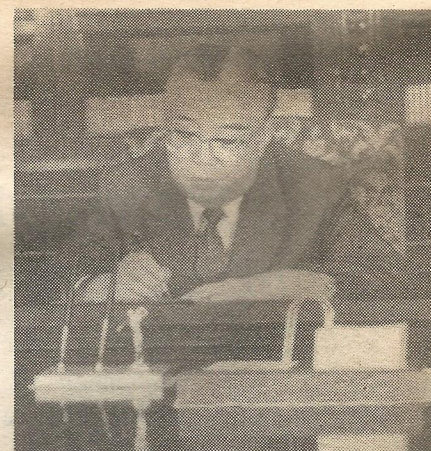
## Reunifying Korea is Supreme Task

New Year's Address for 1994 by President Kim Il Sung of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Editor's note: Excerpt on national reunification

To reunify the country is the supreme task of our nation, which must not be delayed. We must accomplish the unanimous, ardent desire of the entire nation and hand down the reunified country to our posterity.

With a view to paving the way to national reunification by the united effort of the nation, our Party and the Government of our Republic put forward the "Ten Point Programme of the Great Unity of



the Whole Nation for the Reunification of the Country" last year and made all our efforts to put it into effect. This ten-point programme embodies the noble desire of our 70 million compatriots to achieve a solid unity of the whole nation and realize the reunification and prosperity of our nation, with a long history of five thousand years. We hoped that the south Korean authorities would take the road of reconciliation and cooperation in response to our ten-point programme of great national unity. We also made an important proposal for an exchange of top-level special envoys between the two sides.

But the south Korean authorities have taken the path of dependence on foreign forces, not national independence, and of confrontation between North and South, not national unity, by ignoring our magnanimous proposal and the desire of the entire nation for reunification. They have staged larger-scale military exercises

## The Palestine-Israeli Accord

by Raheem Williams

The New World Order marches on. Peace is breaking out all over. South Africa is preparing for elections that are supposed to lead to a transferral of power. The Israeli Government and the PLO sign an historic agreement calling for self-government in the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

Many observers believe that the PLO and Israel rushed into this accord because Al Fatah, the more moderate faction of the PLO, led by Yasir Arafat, was losing its political influence. This slippage was further compounded by serious financial problems faced by Fatah. Confronted with the prospect of having to deal with more radical and uncompromising Palestinians, the Israelis decided that Arafat looked very reasonable. As the Israeli goal is to maintain their nation-state at all



APAFAT

costs, the plan to accord self-government to the Gaza Strip and Jericho is a brilliant tactical move. In one stroke, while feeding the illusion of recognizing Palestinian self-rule, they gave up responsibility for an area where the people's unrelenting resistance made it impossible for them to govern.

Details could not be agreed on...

Now Palestinians would be responsible for preventing Palestinians from attacking Israelis.

The accord set a December 13th target date for the beginning of Israeli withdrawal from the areas. This date was missed as details of the pullout could not be agreed on.

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## New York, New York

## ONGOING STRUGGLE AT CITY UNIVERSITY

by Erica Ford

Ever since African and Latino students fought to enter the City University of New York (CUNY) system there has been an ongoing effort to keep them out. The introduction of tuition after decades of free schooling was one such attempt. Once students were able to pay the tuition, it was increased. Through the years students continued trying to enter the CUNY system, the supposedly easiest access to higher education. So as the population of African and Latino students increased so did the barriers of prevention. Students organized rallies, walk outs and takeovers in an attempt to stop the tuition increases, and faculty and curriculum cutbacks. The struggle on the campuses became intensified but the major contradiction was it was never long term or consistent. As students graduated and new students entered the contradictions would get washed away. The administration took note of this and



since they never stop their attack to keep Africans and Latinos out and powerless, they just would hold out until the end of semesters to implement increases and new rules. They painted the organizers as trouble makers and a few were expelled so that when new students entered they would be reluctant to

join sides.

Now that Africans and Latinos had gotten past most of the barriers, the greatest attack was being made, the denial of education. Students were no longer being taught to think for themselves - make analysis. The struggle for true knowledge ended - everything was inferior. The latest implementation of this was the Goldstein report which is to take the Liberal Arts courses out of the schools where Africans and Latinos are in the majority and increase technical courses. This sent the students at York College in an uproar. The organizing began but so did the attack against the students. It came as no surprise when three students were set up as criminals and brought up on disciplinary charges with a threat of expulsion. The only difference now is it is 1994 York College but as students we take a deeper analysis of this continued attack.

BIO-TECHNOLOGY:  
Cause for Concern

by Olive Armstrong

Recently I read an article in the City Sun which related a story about a young Black man who was used for experimentation in prison. Under the guise of an operation, the prison officials implanted microchips in several parts of the young man's body. This dastardly deed was done without his permission or knowledge. With these microchips inside of him, he hears voices which give him orders. This leads one to wonder why. Why were these microchips implanted in this brother's body. Are they planning to give him orders to carry out some atrocious act that he would never have committed under normal circumstances.

Biotechnology could be beneficial to human life if used for the purpose of saving life, as it is used in countries such as Cuba where human life is held in the highest regard. But in capitalist countries such as the United States where the concern is for profit only, this technology will only be used for the further subjugation of the masses of people, especially Blacks, Latinos and other people of color. We must never forget the Tuskegee Experiments, when four hundred Black men were injected with the syphilis germ and left to die a lingering death while spreading the disease. Officials watched and studied the results. The recent revelations of radioactive experiments on hundreds of unsuspecting victims during the Cold War, in the 40s and 50s, prove once again that medicine is never free of political concerns.

Biotechnology is death and destruction to the Black community.

**We must never forget the Tuskegee Experiments...**

In Washington Heights on the site where the Audubon Ballroom once stood, Columbia University plans to build a biotech lab. Washington Heights is the most densely populated area in New York City, yet Columbia plans to build this laboratory where they can continue to practice their experiments on us, their guinea pigs. Their plan is to destroy us. We will either die from dangerous chemical fumes which will escape from the lab or others of us will show the ill effects years later, as has occurred to the families of soldiers who were exposed to Agent Orange in Vietnam.

## Black Power Conference

by Erica Ford

The Coordinating Committee for the Black Power Conference continues to organize for a Grassroots Nationalist Black Power Conference to be held February 19th and 20th at Boys and Girls High School in Brooklyn. The Coordinating Committee has organized a series of preliminary events.

January 17th two events were held, both dealing with the attacks on our youth. Despite freezing cold weather and snow, close to a hundred people came to a rally in memory of Shuaib Abdul Latif, a 17 year old boy, killed by the police in Brownsville. The son of a prominent imam, Latif was slain by officers of the notorious 75th precinct, famous for the recent indictments of rogue cops involved in drug dealing and gun running.

Later that night, high school and college students came out to a "Black Power Youth Speakout" against violence. "Too many people just want to go along with the group and fall in with what they see their friends doing." "The guns and drugs are put into our communities because Black people don't own any planes to bring drugs in." The voices of the young people were full of a longing for a better way of life and an understanding of some of the reasons for the conditions we live in. We say that Black Power is the answer to our problems.

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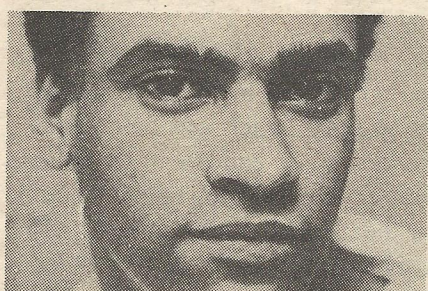
## Arm the Masses People's Forums

*Arm the Masses* newspaper celebrated three years of publication on January 18, 1994 by launching a monthly series of forums on topical issues. The first People's Forum was held at the Harlem State Office Building and featured Elombe Brath speaking on Pan Africanism; Zayid Muhammad on Culture as a Weapon; Viola Plummer giving the newspaper's overall view of the current world situation and Omowale Clay on the history of *Arm the Masses*. On February 16th, also at the Harlem State Office Building, the topic will be "Malcolm X, Black Nationalism and Islamic Fundamentalism." Join us!



## Today's Youth, Tomorrow's Revolution

# No Peace On the Campus Front



by William Worthy

*Editor's note: excerpted from an article originally published in The Sun, Baltimore, Sunday, October 11, 1970. We publish it in tribute to the revolutionary youth of the past and future.*

Am I implying that rebellious college youth, at some point in the 1970's, will in large numbers give up entirely on the land of their birth? Any thoughtful answer requires a sober backward look at the extraordinary, cumulative record of passionate violence and turbulence on and off campuses, in the short space of three years:

1. This year, there have been nearly 340 bombing incidents in the United States... These figures do not include arson (by which many Reserve Officer Training Corps and other campus military buildings have been destroyed), or attempted arson or attempted bombings....

4. Since October, 1967, 432 war protestors have admitted responsibility for 22 separate draft board raids in which more than a million nonduplicated draft files have been destroyed. During the same period, a growing number of top-drawer corporations with military contracts, including Dow

Chemical, General Electric, International Telephone & Telegraph, and Standard Oil of New Jersey, have been hit with disruptive and records-destroying actions.

5. Most recently, eight persons not only destroyed all 1-A draft files in Rochester, NY, but also invaded at night the hitherto sacrosanct offices of the FBI and the United States Attorney. (Five years ago, what American, young or old, would even have thought of a political raid on J. Edgar Hoover's "awesome" precincts....) The raiders, who were caught by the merest chance when a beat patrolman happened to pass the federal building obtained lists of informers and information on FBI procedures against the Black Panther party and other revolutionary groups. After being held in \$100,000 bail each, the eight are being rushed to trial this month. The government obviously does want the defendants touring campuses and discussing the fruits of their raids....

Again for an explanation of the change in consciousness we turn to Vietnam. The deep-seated opposition triggered by the "endless" war is not, in itself, substantively new on the US scene. Popular revulsion during the

Mexican and Spanish-American war come to mind. What is new is the revolutionary level of protest, which has reached its peak on the campuses.

In 1899, the Filipino *insurrectos* under Emilio Aguinaldo refused to recognize Spain's forced sale of their country to Washington for \$20 million and they rebelled against their new colonial masters. US forces reinstituted Spain's concentration camps, the "water cure" torture and massacres that can now be seen as an historical prelude to My Lai in Vietnam....

The American Anti-Imperialist League, headed by Boston blue-blooded attorney Moorfield Storey, charged that a colonial war in the Philippines would undermine institutions at home for endless generations. In an important political newsletter known as *The Nursery*, author John Jay Chapman in 1900 correlated the Army's racist violence in the Philippines with an increase in lynchings in the South, some committed by returning veterans freshly inculcated with violence and hatred. Mr. Storey, who was also president of the American Bar Association, wrote in 1905: "I feel (the US takeover of

the Philippines) is also responsible for the reaction at home against the Negroes, and that the longer we persist in it, the worse must be the consequences to Filipinos and Americans alike."...

Partly in response to the domestic backlash from war, Rough Riders and "pacification" in Cuba and the Philippines came the 1909 birth of the NAACP with Mr. Storey, a white man, as president. Partly in response to the domestic racial backlash from war, Green Berets and "pacification" in Vietnam, came the 1966 birth of the Black Panthers, with whites being excluded from membership and with Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver as leaders....

In the interplay between revolutionary point and repressive counter-point clear across the land, we can expect lulls and quiet stretches in campus agitation. That always happens in subrevolutionary and prerevolutionary periods. But even during the deceptive lulls the piles of combustible tinder will grow ever higher. Abroad, the "restless natives" are mounting stronger and more daring challenges to our imperial "commitments" to their oppressive, feudalistic rulers....

## Update on the Central Park Jogger Case

by Amadi Ajamu & Erica Ford

The "Central Park Jogger Case," which captivated the most racist element in New York City and across the US and destroyed the lives of five Black teenage boys, has taken a turn for the worst as the families struggle to hold on to what they have left.

In the controversial case Kevin Richardson, Yusef Salaam, Antron McCray, Corey Wise and Raymond Santana were convicted of raping a white woman, a "Wall Street executive" who happened to be jogging through Central Park very late that night in 1989. The youth were immediately characterized as a "wolf pack" who had gone "wilding", supposedly the new pastime for young Black males. The press decided on their guilt immediately. No material evidence was found linking any of the young men charged, but the NYPD successfully terrorized all of the juveniles, with the exception of

Yusef Salaam, (without the presence of their parents) into confessing to the alleged rape.

All the young men were sentenced to 5-10 years in Juvenile Detention Centers with the exception of Corey Wise, who at 17 years old, got a 8-15 year sentence and was sent to a Maximum Security Penitentiary in upstate New York, under protective custody. Thus far McCray, Santana and Salaam's cases have come before the court of appeals and all have been denied, Salaam's for the second time. Richardson's case will be presented for appeal this month, and Santana's case will be presented for appeal in March.

The conspiracy by the criminal justice system against Black youth is epitomized by this legal lynching. The police departments, courts, and jails all act in conjunction in the war against Black men, women and children. They will use any means at their disposal to exploit, degrade,

and murder our people under the guise of "criminal justice."

When Yusef Salaam's mother, Sharoni Salaam, was asked her analysis of the US criminal justice system and its relationship to Black youth, she responded that "Most young people have no knowledge of the "law" and find themselves learning it through their experience in it." She said that young people should learn the basics of the criminal justice system in school in terms of what their "rights" are and how to protect themselves against human rights abuses such as the abuses suffered by her son and his friends on that fateful night. Furthermore, she said, Black youth are "caught behind the eight ball in terms of the injustices they suffer in the US criminal justice system."

Ms. Salaam stated that she is prepared to "go all the way," in the legal defense of her son Yusef. At this point in time she and her lawyer, William Kunsler, are

discussing the feasibility of another appeal.

Kevin Richardson's appeal will be heard January 25th, 1994 at 2 pm at the New York State Court of Appeals at E. 25th Street and Madison Avenue at 2 pm. The family is requesting that people come out.

In 1989 Black people were outraged at this clear violation of our human rights and took to the streets in defense of these young brothers. We need to be prepared to "go all the way" in defense of them and all of the other young Black men and women who are victimized by the criminal justice system.

The struggle continues. Please write the brothers.

Kevin Richardson, Unit G  
Yusef Salaam, Unit I  
NYS Executive Department  
Division of Youth  
Harlem Valley Center  
PO Box 320  
Wingdale, NY 12594-0320



## Political Prisoners

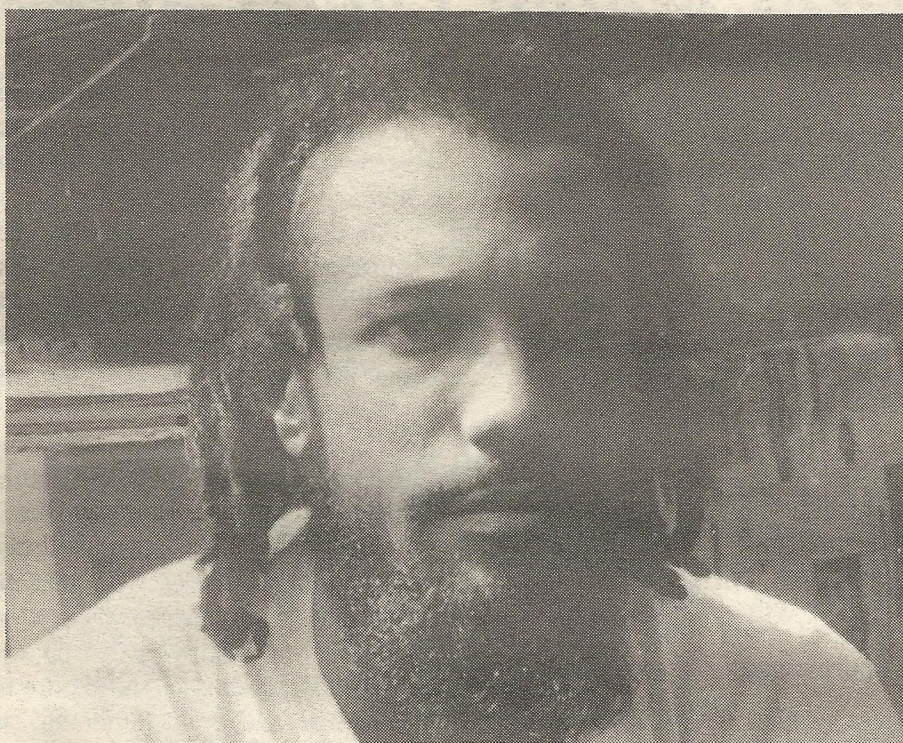
The Case of Jihad Abdul-Mumit: *Political Prisoner*

by Raheem Williams

In the late 1960s, to be young, gifted and Black meant to be a revolutionary. It was to have a life whose politics, culture, and economics was defined by the struggle for Black liberation. Like so many of our youth today, Jihad Abdul-Mumit was armed and dangerous. But different from them he was armed with revolutionary politics and was only dangerous to our oppressors.

In 1970, Jihad, then known as David Bryant, joined the Black Panther Party chapter of Plainfield, New Jersey, at age 16. A year later, faced with the infiltration and devastation of the Black Panther Party caused by the FBI's COINTELPRO (Counter-Intelligence) program, Jihad went underground as a soldier of the Black Liberation Army.

In the mid-1970s, Jihad was arrested during a shoot-out, convicted of expropriations of banks in New York and Ohio and sentenced to 43 years in federal prison. In 1986, Jihad was paroled. He married, began raising his family and worked in the larger Black community, as well as in the Islamic



community to which he belonged.

Some two years later, Jihad was rearrested by federal agents and charged with violating his parole. The charges were association with known felons and conspiracy to aid in the escape of federal prisoners. The association with known felons consisted of phone calls he received from some of the people he had

been in prison with. The conspiracy to aid in the escape charge was based on phone conversations he had with some of these same people, which the FBI maintained were coded plans to effect an escape. One of the alleged conspirators, Richard Cobb, was an FBI informant who set up several of these "escape" phone calls. All of these events with which Jihad was charged had occurred more than two years before he was arrested.

A day after Jihad was arrested, two FBI agents visited him in jail, trying to secure his help in finding some federal fugitives, most notably Assata Shakur. When Jihad told them that he would not help them, they warned him that they would make sure that he would spend the rest of his parole time in jail.

After a parole revocation hearing, Jihad was found guilty of the charges and given another 18 months in jail, to be followed by re-release on parole. But when this decision, made by the hearing examiner who had interviewed Jihad personally, went to the next level, the Parole Commission (Commission) added the charge of "Conspiracy to Commit Murder," and increased his jail time from 18 months to 14 years. Jihad filed a

writ of habeas corpus and the District Court found that the Commission had violated his rights to due process by adding a charge that he had never been notified of and could not have defended himself against. A new hearing was ordered on the charge.

*In the late 1960s, to be young, gifted and Black meant to be revolutionary...*

The problem was that, under Commission regulations, a new charge could not be brought after the first revocation hearing unless it was based on some new information. There was none. The so-called evidence that the "conspiracy to commit murder" charge was based on had been in the hands of the Commission since 1986. And that evidence - an uncorroborated phone conversation between the FBI informant Cobb and Jihad who said nothing about a murder - was so shaky that the US Justice Department never charged Jihad with conspiracy to aid in the escape or conspiracy to commit murder. Nevertheless, the Commission set up a second revocation hearing to address the "conspiracy to commit murder" charge. That hearing was held in 1991 and the hearing examiner found Jihad not guilty and recommended that he be reinstated on parole. When the decision went to the next level, hearing examiners who had not seen Jihad once again found him guilty of "conspiracy to commit murder" and set his sentence for 14 years.

It was obvious that the FBI had made good on their threat. Jihad was being "paid back" for being a Black revolutionary, for being a Muslim and for refusing to be a snitch.

Despite the blatant violation of his human rights, Jihad, an accomplished writer and playwright, remains strong and politically principled. He is currently filing another writ of habeas corpus challenging the Commission's last decision. He can be reached by writing: Jihad Abdul-Mumit (aka David Bryant), Registration #32379-138; USP Lewisburg; PO Box 1000; Lewisburg, Pa. 17837-1000.

**DEFEND  
POLITICAL  
PRISONERS'  
HUMAN RIGHTS!**



Marilyn Buck, Laura Whitehorn, Susan Rosenberg, Sylvia Baraldini  
Anti-imperialist political prisoners held at Mariana Prison in Florida

### *Dare to Struggle, Dare To Win!*

#### **Marilyn Buck**

Marilyn Buck was born in Texas, a segregated state, in 1947... Her political and social awareness was heightened by her frustration at the limitations placed on her as a woman... It was this sense of inequality which enable her to understand that racism and domination were an integral part of US society that could not be changed through voting. She became active in protests against the war and racism.... As an anti-imperialist activist and an advocate of socialism, she, along with many thousands, was identified in the FBI Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) files... The FBI

accused her of being a member of the Black Liberation Army (BLA) and, in 1973, she was arrested and convicted of buying two boxes of handgun ammunition. She was sentenced to ten years, the longest sentence ever given for such an offense.

As a political prisoner she was designated as a "high security prisoner by the US government and was subjected to extraordinary measures in the name of security..... In 1977, after more than four years in prison, and repeated parole denials, she was granted a furlough from which she did not return.

In 1979, Assata Shakur was

freed from prison. Marilyn became a "suspect" as soon as the FBI believed that white North Americans might have been involved. When she was captured, she was also charged with an unsuccessful expropriation of a Brinks armored car that occurred in October 1981 in Nyack, New York. She is currently serving over 44 years for a RICO conviction.

Despite the ever-intensifying political repression, Marilyn continues to believe that the process of national liberation and the building of socialism is the hope for the future of all our children.



## Culture As A Weapon

# The Legacy of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

by Louie Terrell

If there were ever such a thing as a dynamic non-violent revolutionary, unrelenting in his quest to free his people from the vestiges of slavery, Dr. King was one of them.

Throughout his campaigns, after having studied the principles of non-violent direct action (Mahatma Gandhi), he never veered from his commitment and his beliefs in the benign power of love.

He stayed the course. Throughout the civil disobedience movement, he and his followers faced police dogs, water hoses, rocks, bricks, bombings, and

sitting in the segregated sections of buses and trains.

The spark that ignited the mass movement era was on December 1, 1955, when Rosa Parks refused to give up her bus seat to a white man in Montgomery, Alabama. On December 5, 1955, the bus boycott began.

Rosa Parks, a working woman, demonstrated that she was tired of standing in the back of buses when there were vacant seats in the whites only sections. When ordered to move, she refused. She was arrested and the Montgomery Improvement Association was



murders, he clung to his belief in the overcoming power of love. He said that "if there be blood shed... let it be our blood," in cause of justice.

Dr. King said that nonviolent resistance is not a method for cowards. He believed that the instrument of nonviolence should be put into action as if it were an invading army equipped with missiles and tanks.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. was born in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 15, 1929, the son of a sharecropper father and minister, and a middle class mother, who lived in comparative comfort.

He graduated, at age 19, from Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia. He attended Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania, and later completed his doctoral studies at Boston University.

His short life spanned many unprecedented events, both triumphant and tragic. He said that "if a man has not found something he believes in and will die for at 20,... he is as dead at 20 as he is at 80 years of age."

As a teenager, Dr. King never accepted the fact of (de jure) law of

launched.

Blacks brought the bus company to its knees through a year long mass boycott. On December 13, 1956 the US Supreme Court upheld the US District Court's decision that segregation on municipal buses was unconstitutional. On December 21, 1956, segregation on buses was ended.

In effect these new laws were written in the streets, not in the halls of justice. No doubt that if Rosa Parks or some other person hadn't resisted, the mass movement might have been postponed. History shows that spontaneity has often played a role in mass movements and in revolution.

In the beginning, Dr. King did not choose the movement. The movement chose him and, historically, this is not a precedent. It is a state of dormant readiness in the masses, "ripe," and ready to launch the its superior forces by virtue of the fact that it is the multitudes.

Some have argued that the Nobel Peace Prize should have been given to Rosa Parks. But in essence, Dr. King thrust the proceeds and the honor of the prize into the hands of the people anyhow.

Dr. King and his followers faced a virulent and hostile enemy. An enemy not caught up in the aura of love which Dr. King exuded.

In the back of the mind, the subconscious of Bull Connor and those of his persuasion, there were the security of local police, state police, the FBI, the army, the CIA, the attack dogs, et al.

In back of the mind of Dr. King, there was suffering, but he said that unearned suffering is redemptive.

Dr. King and his close associates were jailed 12 times. He said that "Abused and scorned though we may be our destiny is tied up with America's destiny... and before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth, we were here... Before Thomas Jefferson etched the majestic words of the Declaration of Independence, we were here. Before the Mayflower, we were here."

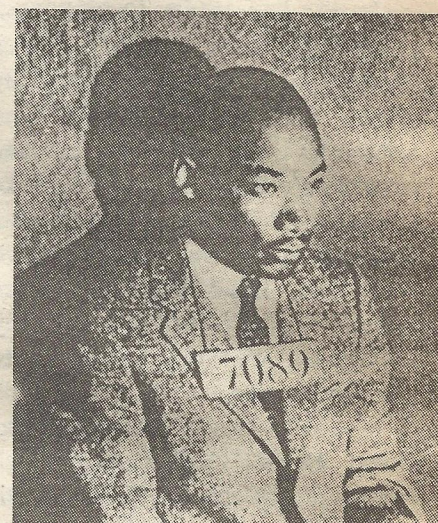
America has chosen to perpetuate and glamorize Dr. King's "I Have a Dream" speech. His "Letter from Birmingham Jail," "Why We Can't Wait" and countless other writings and speeches including his address on the Vietnam War go virtually unnoticed. In reality, the Dream speech is dwarfed by countless numbers of his many writings and orations.

On confronting the Vietnam war, Dr. King stressed that America applauds nonviolence whenever Negroes face white people in the streets. But it sanctions violence, burning, torture and death when Negroes were sent to the trenches of Vietnam. He stated that the Vietnam war was morally wrong and unjust, pointing out that the war was civil in nature.

He mentioned the main US objective was the recolonization of that poor and struggling country, after the French and Japanese.

America, he said, with the Christian ethic and western technology, had become the Bully Enforcer of the world.

Dr. King, in quoting the scriptures, and issuing a warning to America, stated that "Your claim to Christian values is phony and



insincere and an affront to the Creator... The Creator will shut you down and raise up nations who don't know my name... but will obey me!"

Finally, what is the legacy of Dr. King?

He said that when you remember him, just say that he tried to feed, the hungry, clothe the naked, give drink to the thirsty and be a drum major for peace.

Dr. King, according to his son Dexter, authored over 200,000 documents during his short life. He was decorated with many honorary degrees and citations.

The people from the street remember Dr. King. Wanda Daniels, a Harlem resident said, "Dr. King was a powerful speaker... so powerful that he could literally open the eyes of the blind... I will never forget him!... His speeches sent chills up my spine."

Ollie, a Harlem mortician, said, "Dr. King was one of the most moving and powerful orators of our time."

The bullet that took his life was fired by the same indifferent and reactionary forces that took the lives of Malcolm, Medgar Evers, Nat Turner, Maurice Bishop and Patrice Lumumba.

Toward the end of his days, Dr. King was beginning to shift leftward ideologically; spending less time on his knees, which made America comfortable, and more planning strategic deployment of action towards the sources of power.



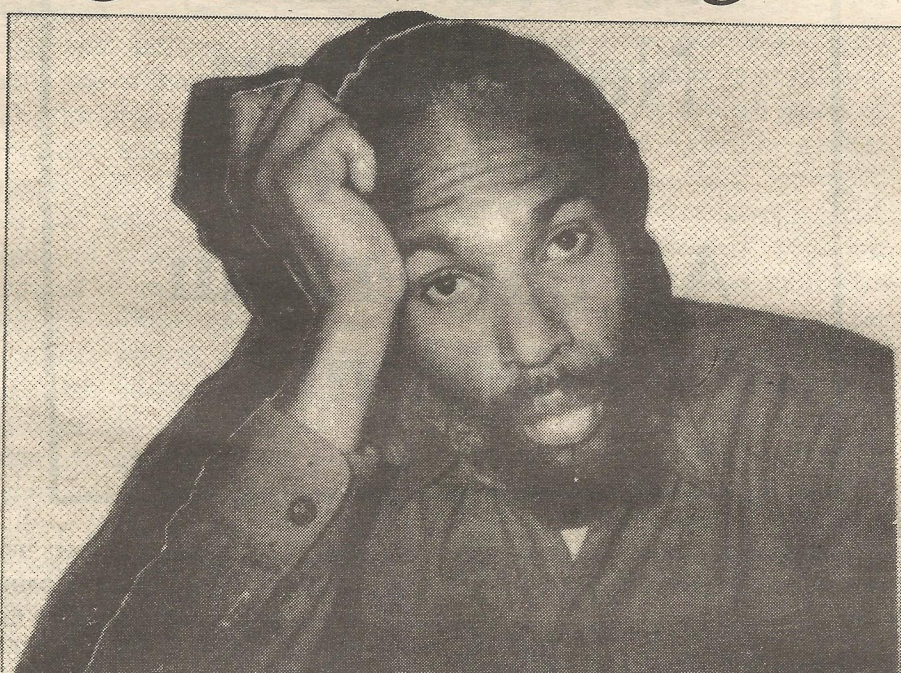


## Harriet Tubman

# Remembering Kuwasi Balagoon... Maroon

Black revolutionary Kuwasi Balagoon died on Dec. 13, 1986 at the Erica County Medical Center in upstate New York. He had been moved there from the New York State penitentiary at Auburn where he was incarcerated for his political military work in behalf of Black liberation...

Balagoon, who would have been 40 years of age on Dec. 22, was born in Lakeland, Maryland. At 17, as a young enlisted man in the US Army he witnessed racism and discrimination in the treatment of Black soldiers by white officers and enlisted men. At this young age he began to realize that Black people had no reason to be fighting in Vietnam or anywhere else in behalf of a racist "Amerikkka" where Black people's survival remained threatened by capitalist economic policies and a white-dominated political system. He left the US military and moved to New York where he became a tenant organizer and in 1968, a member of the Black Panther Party.



When the US government's repression campaign against the Black Liberation Movement known as COINTELPRO took aim on the Black Panthers, he was among 21 men and women named in a federal conspiracy rap to bomb shopping centers and police stations. It was in the intense atmosphere of an 18

-state alarm to pick up these 21 Panthers and vicious FBI and police attacks against Panthers in Chicaro, Los Angeles, Houston and elsewhere that Brother Kuwasi would elude arrest and go underground. All 21 defendants would be found not guilty on all counts. His latest arrest (he escaped

from prison several times) would occur in Dec. 1981 when he was arrested and charged with participation in the Brink's armored car expropriation attempt of October of that year in Nyack, New York.

In the show-trial on charges arising from the Brink's action, Balagoon would uphold a Prisoner-of-War position and refused to participate in the trial. He openly acknowledged that he was a soldier in the Black Liberation Army (BLA), a political-military clandestine organization formed in 1971 to defend Black people and to fight for Black people's liberation.

Balagoon is also a contributing author of the book Look for me in the Whirlwind, and has written many poems, short stories and political articles published in several Black, US and Canadian journals and newspapers....

*The following is one of Kuwasi's poems, on then Mayor Ed Koch, and his Black police commissioner, Benjamin Ward, who had been caught drinking while on duty and having girls in his office.*



*Benjamin Ward  
Likes to entertain  
and be entertained  
on the rocks, in his office  
likes to mix a little business with  
pleasure  
likes to loosen up  
before he hurrahs the boys  
at police ceremonies  
with a few drinks  
and mop his brow  
and shift his weight from foot to foot  
at press conferences  
and stutttter  
and entertain everyone who watches  
the news  
This is no uncle tom  
or some neo colonial fixture  
of a city that suddenly found itself  
third world  
and unable to stomach a Minter or  
Alvarez  
as school chancellor  
and as i picture him at the podium  
i can't help but hear Michael Jackson  
singing Ben  
or maybe i only hear the recording  
is it live or is it memorex?  
the mayor, his honor no less, who  
couldn't stand  
Black Minter or Brown Alvarez  
loves Black Ben  
and saz, everybody makes mistakes  
Ben saz, he'll never drink again  
will cut the playboy routine  
mops his brow, shifts his weight to*

*the right  
he's asked, if he will resign  
mops his brow, shifts his weight to  
the left  
"Not today," he musters a mumble  
and his owner, looks at him, "Oh,  
come on Ben"  
and i can almost hear him say, he'll  
never come again  
his honor explains, these are just a  
couple of indiscretions  
in an otherwise flawless career as  
commissioner of  
department of corrections, NYC  
commissioner of department of  
corrections New York State  
and now as the city's Top Cop  
police commissioner  
This is no hand picked uncle tom  
The first black police commissioner  
of New York City  
where more kids showed up to the  
airport to meet  
Menudo in 84,  
then showed to meet the beatles in  
64  
was appointed!  
This is the one responsible for the  
Michael  
Stewart investigation  
This is the one responsible for  
bringing the  
murders of Willie Turks to justice  
This is the one responsible for  
investigating  
police brutality charges in Harlem*

*This is a symbol of how far a black  
man  
can go in the United Staes.  
A man mentioned in the Centurion!  
making this video tape with his honor  
like Michael Jackson did with Paul  
Mc Cartney  
"say, say, say, what you want" how am  
i doin?  
Why are people complaining to koch  
about the police?  
This 1984-not 1964  
Why are people complaining about  
racism?  
ain't whites in Staten Island  
complaining about police brutality?  
and Big Ben is checking into it  
and being the top cop he knows  
about those things  
how many times have you heard of  
cops  
blowin somebody away because the  
cop thought  
that the play gun the child had was  
real?  
or that the comb or bottle or  
whatever  
made a bulge in a black teenagers  
pocket was a gun or knife?  
but black cops, like Big Ben  
have better vision than white cops  
I don't know if they do better on the  
firing range  
but when have you heard of a black  
cop blowing a white child away  
because*

*he thought the toy gun was real?  
And how many times have you heard  
of a black  
cop mistaking a comb  
or bottle or bulge in a white teenager's  
pocket for a gun?  
is the ratio of these types of mistakes  
the same as the ratio of black to  
white  
cops?  
how many times have you heard of  
white cops shooting black cops?  
OK, how about the other way  
around?  
don't whites carry combs and bottles  
or otherwise have bulges in their  
pockets?  
don't black cops accidentally discharge  
their weapons  
So now you know who the guardian  
society guards  
cause niggers know the law  
and the law is  
If you are black you can't be white  
Other speakers have taken a nip  
before addressing a convention  
and entertained friends on business  
hours  
but what else does that nigger  
apologize for?*

**Kuwasi Balagoon,  
Freedom Fighter  
Live Like Him!**





## EDITORIAL

**ARM THE MASSES**

*"the era of the Masses, people's power which places all authority, wealth and arms in the hands of the People"*

*"For years the Afro-American student has been faced with contradictions of trying to assimilate into a society that had no room for him."*

### The World of Reality and the World of the Afro-Student

The world of the Afro-American student has changed tremendously since World War II. Prior to that time only a few Afro-Americans ever got a chance to go to college. Afro-American college youth before World War II were from the established Black middle class and very seldom associated themselves with the Black working class. After the war and during the early fifties, more and more Black working class families were able to send their children off to college. Contradictions began to polarize among Black students when this happened. The crystallization of these contradictions led to the development of the sit-ins, freedom rides, etc. Black working class families with bourgeois aspirations attempted to force their offspring into a society that had no place for them.

The myth of "a college education and having it made" was finally beginning to crumble. For generations the Black American had figured that by obtaining a college education he would be integrated into the mainstream of American life. But what has happened is that the Afro-American has produced a whole generation (war babies) that has made it to the top of whitey's society only to awaken to the hard fact of reality that there is no "pie in the sky." Now, after all these years, the Black student is faced with the fact that he or she has to obtain a master's or doctor's degree before being able to survive in this society. With the rise of automation the Afro-American student is faced with a new dilemma. The job market is shrinking, qualifications are getting higher and competition sharper.

The hip society is a result of conditioning and of the last hope that the American dream is true. The hip society transcends all class barriers among Blacks and has its own social values and norms. The hip society is developed from the frustration of not being able to do anything about one's condition and serves as a release from daily pressures. The hip society is built around the concept of manhood and womanhood, reflecting a lack of security and identity, and alienation. Adherents of the hip society release themselves by being "hard," digging jams (listening to jazz records), "getting off" (releasing frustration through dancing to rock 'n roll), smoking pot, tasting (heavy drinking), "doing the thing or taking care of business" (loose sex morals,

sometimes sex orgies). The hip society is a hedonistic society... it is built on extreme pleasure seeking, in order to forget about the reality of the hard contradictions the Black student must face.

### Contradiction of the Afro-American Student

The Afro-American student must face many contradictions. If his background is of the working class, then he faces the contradiction of becoming something that his family has oriented him both to envy and hate. The concept of the Black bourgeoisie not being able to "let their hair down," be down to the nitty gritty, constantly alienates and antagonizes him. He also finds that in order to be successful in his field and be with people of his position, he must take on ways that he had previously considered "phony." Another contradiction of Black students lies in failure to reach their aspirations.

The more black students learn about the outside world the more they realize that there is little chance for them to make their goal; thus they settle for some lesser choice. This contradiction hits the Black student square in the face whether he wants to admit it or not.

The contradictions for the Black student are beginning to polarize. This polarization has led to the sit-ins, freedom rides, mass demonstrations, Black nationalist youth organizations and finally the riots in the summer of 1964. What is developing for our enslaved Black nation is a generation with a completely new outlook. Out of this generation is developing the revolutionary Black intelligentsia capable of leading Black America to true liberation. This has resulted from the fact that a social revolution cannot develop until all means of legal protest have been exhausted and the image of bourgeois democracy is destroyed. This is when a revolutionary intelligentsia is produced.

### The High School and Junior High School Afro-American Student

Overt social pressure for the Afro-American student usually begins in the junior high school. By the age of 14, he begins to feel the contradictions of his relationship to this society. He is led to believe in school that he is white, "can make it if he tries," and after school he

becomes Black again and enters into the hip world. The feeling of being run smack into a brick wall by the educational system is being felt by junior high and high school students. In the South more and more junior high and high school students are leading the movement, whereas in 1960 it was the Black college youth who were the vanguard of the movement. We see

## ***What is developing for our enslaved Black nation is a generation with a completely new outlook...***

in the North Black high and junior high school youth touched off the riots in Harlem and played a major role in the riots in other cities. If Black college youth are feeling that there is nowhere for them to go, then it will surely seep down to the Black high and junior high school youth. The only role left for them is to rebel.

### Gangs

Almost every Black community has gangs. Very few people understand the nature of these gangs and how they can be transformed into a constructive force for Black liberation. Gangs develop because youth have no out in this white man's racist, capitalist system. Afro-American youth have no room for expression in this savage society. They have no image of manhood or womanhood that they can identify with. Black youth know unconsciously that they are not a part of "the man's world." Thus in contrast, the hip world develops. The gang represents organization, identity and power for Black youth. Living in a hostile world they experience none of these things. The feeling of belonging, being part of something "boss" is a big part of a gang. This sense of identity leads to organization of a gang and from the gang's strength and influence comes its power. For Afro-American youth, especially boys, gangs are the only thing in the Black community that can give them a sense of power. This comes from



the feeling of being powerless over one's destiny (the man has control of that) and of being less than a man.

### The Outlaws and the Only Alternative for the Afro-American Student

The outlaws are politically hip Blacks who understand that this white man's racist-monopoly-capitalist-imperialist system cannot reform itself and cannot ever grant the Black man freedom, justice and equality. They become outlaws because the average Black student is afraid to identify with them. The outlaws are called Revolutionary Black Nationalists. We are international revolutionary Black nationalists, not based on ideas of national superiority, but striving for justice and liberation of all the oppressed peoples of the world. We believe in the Constitution of the US which was made to establish justice, but we realize that there can be no liberty as long as Black people are oppressed by Yankee imperialism and neo colonialism. After four hundred years of oppression, we realize that slavery, racism and imperialism are all interrelated and that liberty and justice for all cannot exist peacefully with imperialism. The Revolutionary Black Nationalists advocate a Black revolution that takes the power away from the white capitalist oligarchy and puts it into the hands of the Black proletariat. Our analysis is that there are two nations within the continental US: Black America and white America; that these two nations have been at war for over 400 years, Black America being the oppressed and white America the oppressor; and that the polarization of this conflict will lead to a race war within the US. We say with a movement of revolutionary action through self defense warfare and the help of the peoples of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, the Black man can and must win if he is to survive. Unless this Afro-American turns to self-defense he will be exterminated like the Jews were in Nazi Germany.

The only alternative left for Afro-American youth is to unite for a confrontation with "the man." Black intellectual youth (college) must unite with Black youth in the ghetto; Black youth must unite through a liberation army to liberate Black America and destroy "Charlie". The message that the Revolutionary Black Nationalists have for the Afro-American student is, UNITE to be the vanguard of the Afro-American and world revolution... OR PERISH.



# REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH

## Must Drink from the Fountain of Experience

The "youth" of today calls up so very many questions. To begin, at what age does our young people of today become young adults, adults or younger adults, etc. Who defines their group, what influences, to what do they owe allegiance, to whom or to what do they pay respect? At what point did "their" culture take whole? We here at ATM would like to offer some of our ideas/answers to these questions, in hope that we could begin to dialogue and push some of the "old" cultural values and mores. We submit that, at the base is the influence of the "neo petit bourgeoisie" class in persons and ideas that emerged during the late sixties and throughout the seventies. The term "neo petit bourgeoisie" because the ideas articulated and practiced certainly are not new in essence, but in form and application. For instance - education, schooling was to prepare young people for "jobs." From the Fortune 500 to chemists, computer communications to president of the US. Never in preparation for owning the means of production; never for liberation and independence. Quite different from the "learning" of the "old days." Neo petit bourgeoisie because it was this "class" who benefitted from the struggles of the 40's, 50's and 60's. It was during those past decades that the essence of struggle was redefined. As those of us who are now in our late 40's and early 50's grew up, the expression of these ideas became more and more distinct, as did our political consciousness. It is said we blame the "white man" for everything and never accept or take the criticism for our own behavior. Nonetheless, the redefinition, the change of emphasis in our view, did not originate within those of us who were victims, ex-slaves, of this society, but we were the mechanisms used for this change. Certainly we could have rejected these attacks and many of us did. However we did not have either in ideological thought or material resource the wherewithal to win that particular battle. So we began to manifest those ideas and transmit them to those generations after us; or today's youth.

As Amilcar Cabral said in Unity and Struggle, "Just as occurs with the flower in a plant, the capacity (or responsibility) for forming and fertilizing the germ which ensures the continuity of history lies in culture, and the germ simultaneously ensures the prospects for evolution and progress of the society in question."

Glorification of the new, the young became and is as US bourgeois as it is alien to the cultural existence of our people. The merger or abolition of rules, responsibilities and expectations became the basis of our social

integration. All social interactions at one and the same time became public and without political values and principles. We could oppose capitalism and at the same time support individualism. We could sum up racism and allow those victims of racism to redefine it and make all of us guilty of having a little bit within us. We could forgive the heirs of white supremacy and find quarter with them in marriage and other alliances while never demanding in the political active sense that they rectify the manner in which their skin color allowed them to benefit from our oppression. Call it what you will but clear and precise lines of demarcation are the only ways by which we maintain some semblance



of generational standards, ideas, and values that we must transmit.

Can there be revolutionary youth in a void of revolutionary "older, elders," or what ever distinguishes the two groups. The question becomes who sets the standards; where are the examples - up to and including language - (networking? role models? et al). We are prepared to support the position that the petit bourgeoisie if not in actual class status, but disseminating of those ideas, are the underbelly of the almost alien incomprehensive group(s) of our young people today. Across the board these ideas have allowed the revolutionary content of our social behavior to be eroded. Again we are convinced that the greater influence was/is the dominant society and its ability to corrupt some of us and re-enforce those ideas that are detrimental to those of us who are oppressed. From the "thug" life to the total bankruptcy of "electorial politics" to snitches, rats, murders of our leaders, sell outs, to every other kind of social deviant we have all but abolished the standard, the code,

the emphasis of the collective, the community (the whole if you will) as the standard bearer in acceptance for the "new" the modern mores of an alien culture - group - society. Our view is that previous generations represent a history and unequivocally history is "Of all our studies... best qualified to reward our research. And when you see that you've got problems, all you have to do is examine the historic method used all over the world by others who have problems similar to yours," as Malcolm X said. Further, "History teaches us that, in certain circumstances, it is very easy for the foreigner to impose his domination on a people. But it likewise teaches us that, whatever the material aspects of this

biological or communal. This presence, this courage manifested in the security of our neighborhoods and homes, have since vanished. Our fathers always had guns. Our fathers at home or not maintained the authority of their history of their absolute right to continue the lifestyle of our communities. All gone and attributed to all of the petit bourgeoisie social work(er) jargon and program.

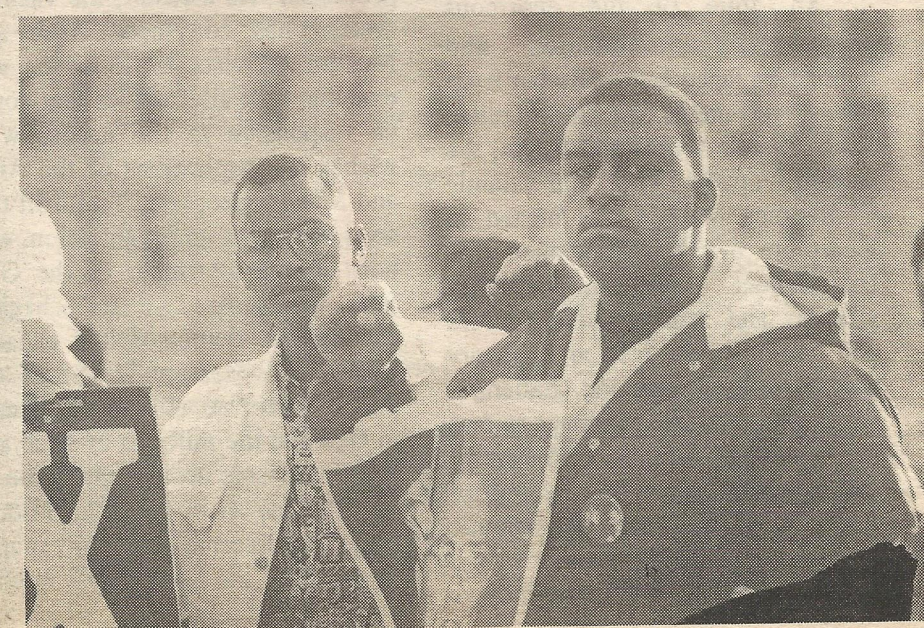
While many of us rejected the integrationist ideology as it was applied to racist institutions, we opted for integrationist ideology to be used as we defined youth, modern, new et al. We called this idea adaptation - progressive, a rejection of what was done in the past, a cynical approach to what had been as dated and of no continuing value. Our youth then are products of these transitional decades. Those of us who are parents - immediate family and extended must accept this fact. Certainly the reasons are multitudinous and quite often valid, none the less the responsibility is ours.

Che Guevara, talking to the Union of Young Communists taught, "It is obvious that the Union of Young Communists, as a young organization, a younger brother of

the Integrated Revolutionary Organizations, *must drink from the fountain of experiences of companeros who have worked longer in all the tasks of the revolution.* And it is obvious that they should always listen, and listen with respect, to the voice of that experience."

They then, comrades, are a reflexion of us. A mirror image wiping away the fear of losing something (job, acceptance, pension, status), they only fear the loss of their inability to face the fear of the next Tech 9 or Uzi. They mirror us with the new "neo petit individualism" - that of the 21st Century - that which we have not yet decided to make all out uncompromising war against.

**Power to our Youth** as we grasped the fact that it must be us who exhibit the fight for it.







# Africans and World Revolution



The African Revolution is fundamental to transforming the quality of life for Africans on the Continent, in diaspora, and the masses worldwide. It is in Africa that Imperialism, colonialism, and Zionism have hatched their most insidious schemes: and it is there, Africa, where they will meet their ultimate defeat.



## South Africa/Azania Struggles for Freedom

*Abdul Shariffe, an Associated Press freelance photographer, was shot and killed during an attack on an ANC party officials.*

A peace tour led by the African National Congress to the township of Katlehong, near Johannesburg was attacked by gunmen based in a migrant workers' hostel. The township has a history of political violence; at least half of the 3,000 deaths in South Africa last year due to feuding between rival groups were there or in the neighboring town of Tokoza. Most of the fighting in the areas is allegedly caused by turf wars between supporters of the ANC and those of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party, many of whom live in the workers' hostels.

ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa and South African

Communist Party chief Joe Slovo escaped unhurt, but AP photographer Abdul Shariffe was killed and two other journalists wounded.

Township residents called for a national peacekeeping force to be sent to end the all too common violence.

A national peacekeeping force is in the making as a recent article in The Final Call reported: "The African National Congress (ANC) military wing and the white South African Defense Force will begin training a joint peacekeeping force in late January and plan to deploy the troops a month before April

elections.

Joint military and peacekeeping command councils were announced Jan. 5 and will report to the Transitional Executive Council established to oversee F.W. de Klerk's white government until April 27 multi-race elections. Officials foresee an integrated 10,000 man national peacekeeping force that will work alongside international observers. The force will be independent of the South African police, which many Blacks see as the enforcers of apartheid, officials said."

The Pan African Congress of Azania has announced that its armed

wing will lay down its weapons and also join in trying to stop the violence wracking the country in this transitional period.

The question of whose ideas will guide the new joint military force being created is a crucial one, however, that has not been resolved. Will the soldiers be protecting the right to self-determination of the South African majority, or will it be a barrier to safeguard the privileges of the white minority who benefit from apartheid?

## Muslims Unite In Sudan

*Reprinted from The Final Call, January 19, 1994*

*by Ali Baghdadi*

In spite of the enormous pressures, conspiracies and opposition faced by the Sudan from the governments of the United States, Saudi Arabia and Egypt, the second Popular Arab and Islamic Conference (PAIC) was hosted in Khartoum between December 2-4. Independent Arab and Muslim scholars and thinkers of all colors and nationalities met and openly discussed the threats and challenges to their nations and existence as free and sovereign peoples. US control and dominance over the League of Arab States and the old Islamic Conference Organization headquartered in Saudi Arabia have

resulted in the failure of these two governmental bodies to deal with and resolve Arab and Muslim problems. As a result, the vacuum created has convinced Arab and Muslim activists to look for and examine new alternatives that could be responsive to the needs, will, wishes and aspirations of the Arab and Muslim peoples. To fulfill this need, PAIC, as an organization, was born in the aftermath of the Gulf War tragedy. Its highly charismatic, dedicated and capable leader, Dr. Hassan Turabi of the Sudan, bears no allegiance, except to God and the millions of Arab and Muslim masses around the globe.

*Alsharq Al-Awsat* (The Middle East), an international daily paper financed by the Saudi royal family, described the conference, which was

attended by Arab and Muslim thinkers representing the majority of nations around the globe including America, Europe and Russia, as the biggest gathering of terrorists in the world. Dr. Turabi, the Secretary General of PAIC, made it clear that the conference does not distinguish between Sunni or Shiite Muslim, and Christian or Muslim; and it extends its friendly hand to all humanity for the objective of achieving justice, peace, religious tolerance and respect to the dignity of fellow men.

In its final resolutions, the conference rejected the Gaza-Jericho accord signed by Arafat. The accord does not recognize the Palestinians' right for statehood on a land which is rightfully theirs.

The conference condemned

American and European policies in Bosnia and their collaboration with the Serbs to eradicate Islam and Muslims in Europe. It called upon all peace loving people all over the world to intervene to stop the Christian rape and genocide against Muslims in Bosnia.

The conference demanded an end to the so-called US humanitarian mission in Somalia. This mission has resulted in the massacre of thousands of innocent Somali men, women and children who yearn to see their lands free from foreign control and occupation. The conference praised Somali efforts to peacefully settle disputes among their factions. It also urged the Arab and Muslim states to face

*cont. on page 13*



## Africa and World Revolution

### US Military Probe Pregnant Somali Woman's Death

Reprinted from *The Daily Challenge*, January 11, 1994

US military authorities said Monday they were investigating whether US sharpshooters killed a pregnant Somali woman selling tea outside a Mogadishu hospital on Sunday.

US military spokesman Colonel Steve Rausch said it was possible the US Marine snipers killed a civilian but he stood by earlier statements that they fired on a man with a machine gun.

Witnesses said on Sunday Halima Khalif Ibrahim was hit and killed by one of two bullets fired by UN troops as she stood in her tea kiosk 20 yards from Benadir Hospital gates.

A man selling water was wounded in the same incident.

The witnesses said the UN snipers opened fire from the top of a Pakistani-controlled checkpoint next to the main United Nations Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM) compound in the city.

Rausch said US troops saw a man armed with an RPK light machine gun on a "technical" battletwagon and two Marines fired two high velocity shots as it made a U-turn into a side street.

He said one shot hit the Somali gunman who fell with his weapon into the vehicle which sped away.

Questioned by reporters, Rausch said a sniper's bullet was likely to

pass through the body of the person in the sights. He said he did not know if that was the case in Sunday's incident.

He said there had been some disagreement between US and Pakistani troops at the checkpoint over what they had seen.

Omar Ahmed, who has a stall near Ibrahim's kiosk, said Monday: "She was doing nothing and then



*Bullets, not hunger, now kill Somali civilians under the UN "humanitarian" intervention.*

she was dead."

Asked if he was a battle wagon in the area at the same time as the shooting which killed Ibrahim, Omar said a vehicle was moving around but he did not see whether it had a weapon on it.

UN forces have orders to fire without warning on anyone or any vehicle armed with a medium or heavy caliber weapon.

In a separate incident, Pakistani troops killed a Somali and wounded two others on Sunday at a checkpoint in Mogadishu.

UN military spokesman Major Tim MacDavitt said the troops were inspecting a car when one of three men in the vehicle tried to steal a weapon from a soldier and drive off with it.

The soldiers opened fire, hitting all three men. They were taken to a nearby hospital run by Moroccan forces, but one of the wounded men later died. The other two were detained, he said.

### Congo contemplates toxic waste plan

The World Bank cited a series of international treaties curbing toxic waste trade in warning Congolese President Pascal Lissouba about an alleged plan to dump toxic waste in his country, according to a copy of the written warning obtained by IPS.

The Oct. 15 letter sent by Olivier Lafourcade, director of the World Bank's West and Central Africa Department was the first time the bank alerted a country about a toxic waste dumping, according to bank officials and environmental

with due diligence," Mr. Lafourcade writes.

The letter came to light in December during a briefing by Mohammed El-Ashry, the head of the bank's Environment Department. He said the bank had received "credible reports" that a Belgian company planned to build a toxic waste facility to dispose of locally produced and imported waste in the Congo.

*It [is] intolerable, from both the economic and ecological standpoints, that developed nations press developing countries to accept their waste...*

groups.

In the letter, the bank justifies its warning on the grounds that the reported project violated international accords and the bank's own policy, adopted in 1988, that the shipment of waste from rich to poor countries should be prohibited.

"The World Bank has been concerned about (this problem) since 1988 when President Barber Conable declared it intolerable, from both the economic and ecological standpoints, that developed nations press developing countries to accept their waste," says the letter, which was written in French and translated by IPS.

"We are certain you will take all necessary measures to ensure that investors operating in the Congo are informed that the disposal of imported waste is strictly forbidden and that your government will ensure respect for that principle

### POPULATION DEBATE

A cover story in the weekly Nigerian-owned *West Africa* magazine of London questions whether too much attention is focused on over-population in Africa. "Many aid agencies now tie the provision of help to the introduction of population control measurers." The magazine adds that many of these same agencies do not acknowledge that living standards must rise before population control can succeed.

Using population control density as a measure, *West Africa* also questions why population control is being suggested for countries such as Namibia, Gabon, and Zambia - each of which has fewer than 10 persons per square kilometer - and not for a country such as Holland, which has 326 persons per square kilometer. "Famine exists in bolivia, with five persons per square kilometer, and India with 172, but not in Holland," the magazine says. "Where then one would find a better illustration of the fact that density of population does not correlate with actual food supply?"

### MUSLIMS UNITE IN SUDAN

cont. from page 12

their responsibilities in rebuilding Somalia.

The conference saluted the Iraqi people and leadership for their steadfastness and success in the reconstruction of Iraq which was savagely destroyed by the US and allied forces. It demanded an immediate end to the cruel embargo imposed on Iraq and formed a committee which will be dispatched to Iraq and Iran to resolve all disputes between the two neighboring Muslim states.

The conference rejected US, British and French claims of Libyan "complicity" in the Pan American airliner bombing over Lockerbie. It expressed solidarity with Libya and called for an end to the illegal embargo imposed against this African country.

The conference condemned US/Saudi efforts to undermine the

unity of Yemen and praised Yemen's march on the road to independence. The conference saluted the Lebanese resistance and insistence on the liberation of Lebanese lands from Israeli occupation. It called on all Arabs and Muslims to aid in this noble effort. The conference asked the Indian government to honor and implement all UN resolutions which allow the people of Kashmir to exercise their right to self-determination. It condemned Armenian aggression conducted against Azerbaijan and demanded Armenian troop withdrawal from Azerbaijani territory. The conference spoke of the need for an open and sincere dialogue between the Algerian government and the Islamic Salvation Front.

Reaffirming women and human rights, the conference called upon all Arab and Muslim states to adhere

to democratic principles as dictated by the holy Qur'an. It demanded the release of all prisoners unless their guilt has been proven. This includes Sheikh Omar Abdul-Rahman, the blind cleric, held in US jail for allegedly masterminding the World Trade Center bombing.

The conference spoke of the need for Muslim-Christian dialogue to promote peace, justice and understanding among all peoples in accordance with the teachings of the Holy Qur'an and Bible. It called upon church leaders all over the world to join their Muslim brothers and sisters in their opposition to all forms of injustice and oppression from which millions of people continue to suffer.

### ANGOLA: HORRIFYING WAR

The war in Angola is beginning to be called the world's deadliest of the decade - and perhaps the most ignored. "The horrifying situation in Angola appears to be moving from bad to worse," notes an editorial in the independent *Daily Gazette* of Harare, Zimbabwe. "The United Nations estimates that more than 1,000 innocent civilians are getting killed in the fighting every day..."

"In the absence of meaningful UN intervention in Angola, the Angolans themselves will now have to solve their own problems by any means available to them. It requires no great imagination to guess what that means - all-out war to the finish..."



## HUMAN RIGHTS REVIEW

**BILLION DOLLAR PROFITS - ON THE BACKS OF THE POOR**

by Assata S. Yaa-Asantewa

Poor and working class people who become jobless or overwhelmed by bills are skillfully set up by large banks and major corporations who make billions of dollars in profit on their backs. Major banks systematically redline entire neighborhoods, refusing to lend money to the poor and working class. Those same banks, however, still make huge profits from their discriminatory practices, as the poor and working class are forced to do business with small unregulated loan shark-type companies who are front companies for banks and large corporations. These large banks extend huge lines of credit to trade schools, used car dealers, pawn brokers, finance companies and second mortgage lenders. The front companies then loan money at inflated interest rates to the very people the banks refused to do business with!

Finance companies such as Fleet Finance, the Atlanta-based subsidiary of the largest bank in New England, and ITT Financial Services, make huge, huge profits by sucking the blood of poor people with shaky or no credit history. Statistics show that consumer debts to finance companies now total more than \$115 million! All but three of the Black Belt States legally allow finance companies to charge the maximum interest rates, with 109%



in Tennessee and 123% in Georgia amongst the highest. Companies such as ITT, Security Pacific (now owned by Bank America and Chrysler First) are on the infamous list of companies hit with allegations of mortgage abuse laws. Rent-to-own stores have become a 3.7 billion dollar business, as they sell appliances by the week or month to low-income customers - charging them as much as five times the actual cost of the product.

The cycle continues as banks such as First American Savings, act as back up for trade schools, as they prey on poor and working class people, victimizing them as they aspire to improve their conditions.

Using easy access to federal loan money, the schools, along with the unscrupulous banks that finance them have placed unsuspecting poor people in deeper financial holes, as they find out they had been deceived into signing loan applications, instead of applying for grants they were not required to repay. These hundreds of thousands of poor people are then harassed by vulture-type debt collectors, who use illegal methods to hold them hostage to their debts.

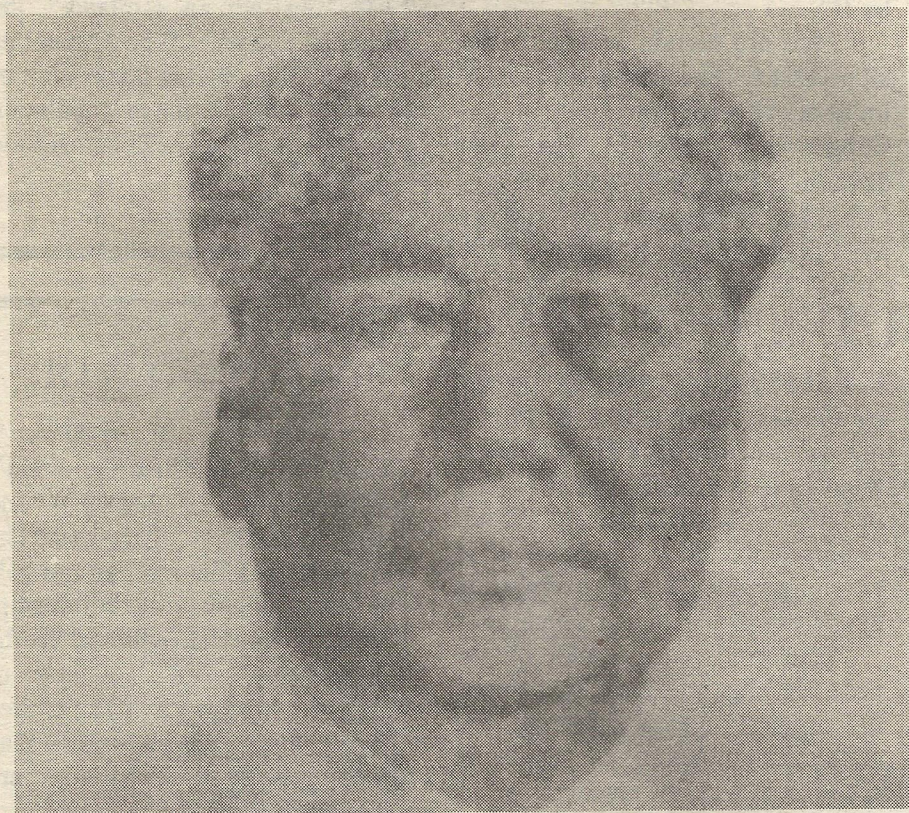
Poor and working class people report horror stories about this vicious cycle, many reporting going without food, utilities and medicine in order to make timely payments.

Shut out by the legal banks, they are forced to pay outrageous fees to check cashers, who are most times subsidized by major corporations, such as Western Union and American Express, who collected \$790 million in fees in 1990, to gain access to money which is rightfully theirs. Recently when the federal government sent checks to thousands of poor families whose children had been wrongly denied disability benefits, they were forced to pay up to fifty percent of those checks to check cashers (\$8,000 in one instance!), because they had no other means of getting the checks cashed.

To ensure they reach the clientele they are aiming for, advertisements are placed in poor neighborhoods, urging people with bad credit to call and ask for a pre-arranged bogus name, which would immediately indicate to the loan officer that this is a person desperate for credit, therefore hidden fees and higher interest rates can be safely added on. Giant corporations - including Ford, General Motors, General Electric, Westinghouse and Sears have all joined the list of corporations who provide huge financial services, although they are not banks.

This corruption is systemic, as

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**Statement by Comrade Mao Tse-Tung:*****In Support of The Afro-American Struggle Against Violent Repression***

Some days ago, Martin Luther King, the Afro-American clergyman, was suddenly assassinated by the US imperialists. Martin Luther King was an exponent of non-violence. Nevertheless, the US imperialists did not on that account show any tolerance towards him, but used counter-revolutionary violence and

killed him in cold blood. This has taught the broad masses of the Black people in the United States a profound lesson. It has touched off a new storm in their struggle against violent repression sweeping well over a hundred cities in the United States, a storm such as has never taken place before in the history of that country. It shows that an

extremely powerful revolutionary force is latent in the more than twenty million Black Americans.

The storm of Afro-American struggle taking place within the United States is a striking manifestation of the comprehensive political and economic crisis now gripping US Imperialism. It is dealing a telling blow to US imperialism, which is beset with difficulties at home and abroad.

The Afro-American struggle is not only a struggle waged by the exploited and oppressed Black people for freedom and emancipation, it is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed people of the United States to fight against the barbarous rule of the monopoly capitalist class. It is a tremendous support and inspiration to the struggle of the people throughout the world against US imperialism and to the struggle to the Vietnamese people against US imperialism. On behalf of the Chinese people, I hereby express resolute support for the just struggle of the Black people in the United States.

Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and US

***The Afro-American struggle... is also a new clarion call to all the exploited and oppressed of the United States...***

ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the US monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The Black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States share common interests and have common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the US monopoly capitalist class.

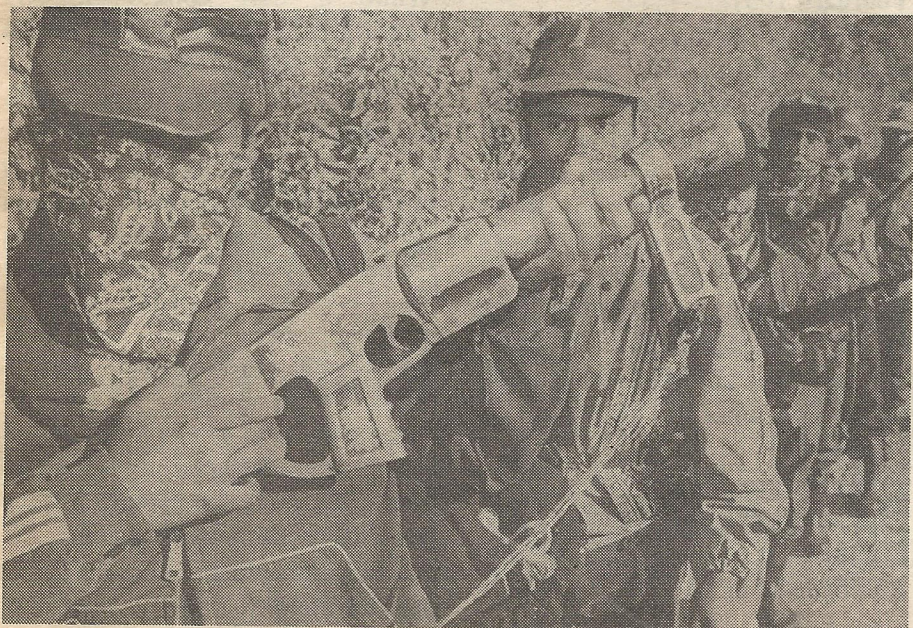
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## Dare To Struggle

# ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!

## Says the Zapatista National Liberation Army



*The following is the full text of the declaration from the Lacandon jungle by the Zapatista National Liberation Army:*

**Today We Say Enough Is Enough! To the People of Mexico: Mexican Brothers and Sisters:**

We are a product of 500 years of struggle: first against slavery, then during the War of Independence against Spain led by insurgents, then to avoid being absorbed by North American imperialism, then to promulgate our constitution and expel the French empire from our soil, and later the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz denied us the just application of the Reform laws and the people rebelled and leaders like Villa and Zapata emerged, poor men just like us. We have been denied the most elemental preparation so they can use us as cannon fodder and pillage the wealth of our country. They don't care that we have nothing, absolutely nothing, not even a roof over our heads, no land, no work, no health care, no food nor education. Nor are we able to freely and democratically elect our political representatives, nor is there independence from foreigners, nor is there peace nor justice for ourselves and our children.

But today we say ENOUGH IS ENOUGH. We are the inheritors of the true builders of our nation. The dispossessed, we are millions and we thereby call upon our brothers and sisters to join this struggle as the only path, so that we will not die of hunger due to the insatiable ambition of a 70 year dictatorship led by a clique of traitors that represent the most conservative and sell-out groups. They are the same ones that opposed Hidalgo and Morelos, the same ones that betrayed Vicente Guerrero, the same ones that imported a European prince to rule our country, the same ones that formed the "scientific" Porfirista dictatorship, the same ones that opposed the Petroleum Expropriation, the same ones that

massacred the railroad workers in 1958 and the students in 1968, the same ones that today take everything from us, absolutely everything.

To prevent the continuation of the above and as our last hope, after having tried to utilize all legal means based on our Constitution, we go to our Constitution, to apply Article 39 which says:

*"National Sovereignty essentially and originally resides in the people. All political power emanates from the people and its purpose is to help the people. The people have, at all times, the inalienable right to alter or modify their form of government."*

Therefore, according to our constitution, we declare the following to the Mexican federal army, the pillar of the Mexican dictatorship that we suffer from, monopolized by a one-party system and led by Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the maximum and illegitimate federal executive that today holds power.

According to this Declaration of War, we ask that other powers of the nation advocate to restore the legitimacy and the stability of the nation by overthrowing the dictator.



We also ask that international organizations and the International Red Cross watch over and regulate our battles, so that our efforts are carried out while still protecting our civilian population. We declare now and always that we are subject to the Geneva Accord, forming the EZLN as our fighting arm of our liberation struggle. We have the Mexican people on our side, we have the beloved tri-colored flag highly respected by our insurgent fighters. We use black and red in our uniform as our symbol of our working people on strike. Our flag carries the following letters, "EZLN," Zapatista National Liberation Army, and we always carry our flag into combat.

Beforehand, we refuse any effort to disgrace our just cause by accusing us of being drug

***We are conscious that the war we have declared is our last resort, but also a just one...***

traffickers, drug guerillas, thieves, or other names that might be used by our enemies. Our struggle follows the constitution which is held high by its call for justice and equality.

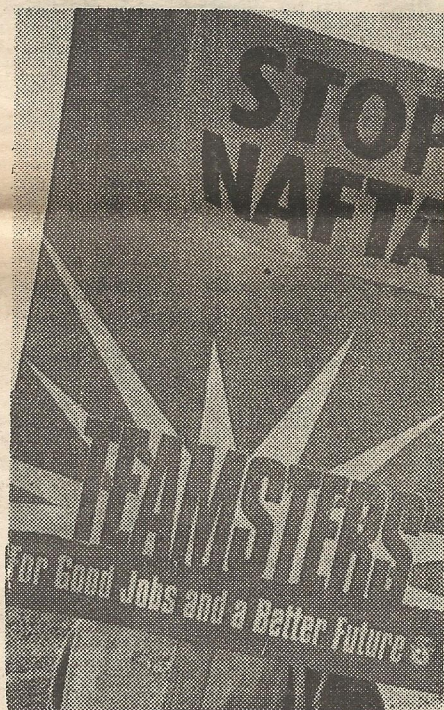
Therefore, according to this declaration of war, we give our military forces, the EZLN, the following orders:

First: Advance to the capital of the country, overcoming the Mexican federal army, protecting in our advance the civilian population and permitting the people in the liberated area the right to freely and democratically elect their own administrative authorities.

Second: Respect the lives of our prisoners and turn over all wounded to the International Red Cross.

Third: Initiate summary judgements against all soldiers of the Mexican federal army and the political police that have received training or have been paid by foreigners, accused of being traitors to our country, and against all those that have repressed and treated badly the civil population and robbed or stolen from or attempted crimes against the good of the people.

Fourth: Form new troops with all those Mexicans that show their interest in joining our struggle, including those that, being enemy soldiers, turn themselves in without having fought against us, and promise to take orders from the General Command of the Zapatista National Liberation Army.



Fifth: We ask for the unconditional surrender of the enemy's headquarters before we begin any combat to avoid any loss of lives.

Sixth: Suspend the robbery of our natural resources in the areas controlled by the EZLN.

To the People of Mexico: We, the men and women, full and free, are conscious that the war we have declared is our last resort, but also a just one. The dictators are applying an undeclared genocidal war against our people for many years. Therefore we ask for your participation, your decision to support this plan that struggles for work, land, housing, food, health care, education, independence, freedom, democracy, justice and peace. We declare that we will not stop fighting until the basic demands of our people have been met by forming a government of our country that is free and democratic. Join the Insurgent Forces of the Zapatista National Liberation Army. General Command of the EZLN, 1993



# Justice & Black Youth

cont. from page 2

The future looks no brighter. The tenor of the country is for "law and order," the present day version of "lynch the niggers!" The election of law enforcement freak Adolph (aka Rudolph) Giuliani as the Mayor of the "liberal" City of New York is a warning of what is to come. Prisons have become one of the weapons of choice for dealing with the "Black" problem. As December 1993's *ATM* laid out, the US Congress is considering a conservative crime bill that will move the country ever closer to a police state, while substantially increasing an already overcrowded prison population. And while the Congressional bill employs naked economic coercion to induce reluctant states to enact similarly restrictive legislation, some states have already begun to do so on their own.

Last fall, 76% of Washington State's voters passed an initiative that enhances the sentence when a person is convicted of a third felony. California is considering an initiative for the November election called "Three Strikes and You're Out" which would double the usual sentence for a second serious felony and triple it for a third. Convicted felons would serve 80%, rather than 50% of their sentence. Legislation like this is broader and stronger than the "habitual offender" laws on the books of several states because it is mandatory, thus eliminating any discretion on the part of judges and prosecutors to be lenient.

Drugs provide a two-pronged attack for the state. First they devastate the user. Second by making big money easily available to people who would otherwise face a future of no or under-employment, the drug trade pulls them into

**Giuliani conducted a "War Against Drugs" whose targets were the street level dealers. As soon as one crew was arrested, the depression-like economy of the Black community produced other dealers to take their place...**

criminal activity. Once these young people are caught up in the drug trade, they are on the track to prison. They themselves may not realize it, but they have now become the permanent property of the US criminal justice system.

Crack is a prime example of the state's search and destroy strategy. When crack first became popular in 1985-86, many people noted that it differed from heroin in the violence it unleashed. While heroin addicts might steal a tv to support their habit, crackheads were killing their mothers and children to get a few dollars. At the same time, the New York City Police Department and the US Attorney's office, headed by

Adolph Giuliani, conducted a "War Against Drugs" whose targets were the street level dealers. As soon as one crew was arrested, the depression-like economy of the Black community produced other dealers to take their place. This "sweep the streets" strategy conveniently overlooked the fact that the cocaine from which crack was derived was not grown in the Black community, but had been imported from abroad and had to pass through, or bypass US Customs, border patrols, etc. The concern was never with the Oliver Norths and his higher ups who really run the drug trade. This sham "war on drugs" was simply a pretext to carry out the war on Black people.

Once these street level dealers, or users, are convicted, they find that punishment for the sale or possession of crack is 100 times greater than for powder cocaine.

Some readers may question why we are making such a big deal out of this. The proposed legislation doesn't mention race. But it is the application of the law in a fundamentally racist society, not its alleged neutrality, that concerns us. We are well aware that the "neutral" death penalty doesn't mention race, but it is disproportionately exacted against people of color.

Other readers may say "Good. People who commit crimes in our community should be locked up." But we must understand the implications of such a view. Unless we are saying that Black youth are genetically predisposed toward crime, we must look at how they ended up in jail. The US breeds the conditions that create "criminals," provides no rehabilitation when incarcerated and now wants those who fail to make a living on the streets to spend the rest of their lives in jail. Many criminologists believe that measures like California's have more symbolic than real value and will do little in reducing the level of violent crime. For people of African descent, this symbolism represents a fatal trend. Its target is our youth. Its immediate goal is to destroy our future. Its long range goal is to eliminate us.

## Radiation Experiments

cont. from page 3

men Puerto Rico ever produced.

His name was Pedro Albizu Campos. He was the fiery and charismatic president of Puerto Rico's Nationalist Party, often described as the Puerto Rican Malcolm X.

Washington, however, considered Campos a dangerous terrorist and subversive as early as the 1930s. He was twice convicted of inciting his followers to armed attacks, and spent nearly 25 years in American and Puerto Rican jails for seditious conspiracy, until his death in 1965.

Among his followers' most spectacular actions were the foiled attempt to assassinate President Truman in 1950 - simultaneous to

an island-wide independence revolt in which 2,000 people were arrested - and a 1954 commando attack on the House of Representatives where five congressmen were wounded.

But one aspect of Campos' incredible life that has never gotten much attention is whether he was subjected to some sort of radiation torture, as he claimed, beginning in February 1951.

Puerto Rican Prof. Pedro Aponte Vazquez has spent years interviewing Campos' surviving friends and chronicling what happened to him while in jail. Many key documents and photos Aponte uncovered come from an American pacifist and supporter of Campos, Ruth Reynolds, who died in 1989, and whose personal papers are in the archives of Hunter College's Center for Puerto Rican Studies.

Immediately after the failed national uprising of Oct. 30, 1950, Campos was thrown into solitary confinement in La Princesa, where

### The CIA... conducted experiments on many Americans...

he remained for many months. Starting in February 1951, Campos claimed he was being subjected to strange rays, which at first made him unconscious, then caused his skin to burn and his fingers, legs and arms to swell tremendously.

According to both Reynolds and the sworn affidavits Aponte obtained from the handful of people who visited Campos in jail, there were visible burn marks on his arms and body, and Campos had to resort constantly to cold, wet towels to reduce the burning of his skin.

When Campos was temporarily released from jail in late 1953, his family convinced noted Cuban radiologist Dr. Orlando Daumy, who would later become an ambassador for the dictator Fulgencio Batista, to examine Campos. Daumy labeled the scars on Campos body the product of "burns" similar to those of a cancer patient "who has been irradiated."

In October 1953, Reynolds wrote in several letters, a simple Geiger counter was sent to Campos' home in San Juan. According to four people who were present, the closer the instrument got to Campos's bedroom, the faster it began ticking until when it was placed next to his body "the apparatus suddenly broke and ceased to function altogether."

Before his friends could obtain a more sophisticated instrument for further tests, Campos was thrown back in jail in March 1954. Two years later he suffered a devastating stroke. He was not released until near death.

For years, Aponte has wondered why every FBI document on Campos he secured through the Freedom of Information Act has every reference to Campos' health blotted out.

CIA director Stansfield Turner admitted in 1977 that the agency, beginning in the early 1950s,

conducted mind control and behavior modification experiments on many Americans, including prison inmates.

The Clinton White House has ordered the CIA and several other government agencies to dig up the documents of this shameful saga of human experimentation and come clean to the American people. While a CIA spokesman said yesterday his agency has no record of human radiation experiments, he cautioned that "we're continuing to search."

So far nothing has publicly surfaced on a jail called La Princesa or a prisoner named Albizu Campos.

## Black Farmer

cont. from page 3

cotton, and soybeans on his 162-acre farm. He got money to buy land - but no operating funds to enable him to plant. He got loans to buy herbicides - but the money arrived after weeds had already killed his crop. He fell \$300,000 in debt, and FmHA moved to foreclose on his farm.

Long knew discrimination when he saw it. As a leader of the Ebert County NAACP he had worked for Black voting rights and had helped integrate the county fire department. He charged FmHA with racial bias, but the state director of the agency dismissed the accusation in 1982, calling Long a "lifelong complainant about discrimination."

The case was reopened last spring after former Mississippi Congressman Mike Espy was sworn in as the first Black Secretary of Agriculture. Since Espy took over, there have been more than 10 findings of racial discrimination in FmHA - compared to none during the dozen years of the Reagan and Bush administration.

So far, though, officials have not said what they plan to do about the discrimination against Long, and FmHA has not forgiven his loans. "This illustrates the problems in the agency's civil rights procedures," said Randi Roth, an attorney for the farmer. "They've found discrimination, but it's stunning that they don't tell the person what remedy they'll offer."





# Nicaragua

cont. from page 4

which they did.

"Our people lost their freedom and land and we had to live through a hundred years of oppression," Mr. Hooker says. "All of our schools were closed for 20 years. The policy was to keep our people ignorant and illiterate in order to make us easily manipulated."

Mr. Hooker further explained that the US government, headed by President Reagan, was frightened by the "example" the Sandinista revolution would mean to oppressed peoples all over the world, because of the accomplishments of the Sandinistas. He blames the former president for the massacres of Black and native Nicaraguans at the hands of the US-backed Contra rebels. He reports of towns attached and productive infrastructures destroyed by American trained soldiers. They trained and transported killers and told them who to kill and who not to kill.

Mr. Hooker said many of Ms. Chamorro's problems stem from broken promises of the US government, particularly the promise of money that never came. The money that was provided to her government has been improperly spent and wasted due to corruption, Mr. Hooker says.

Mr. Hooker says that his fight is to eradicate the mental oppression of his people who view themselves as inferior and to bust up the superior mentality that the lighter skinned Spanish speaking rulers have. "You have to eradicate the master mentality and struggle to extinguish the slave mentality out of the people who have lived through the savagery of slavery. You must do both at the same time because both problems are intimately intertwined."

"As a people, we must achieve a minimum degree of unity in order to successfully force the central government to recognize our rights," he says.

## New Year's Address

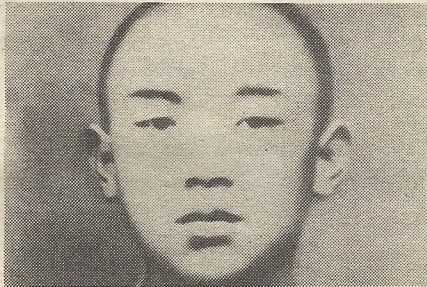
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against our Republic frequently in collusion with foreign forces, and have been jeopardizing North-South relations by clamoring for "military counteraction" and an "international cooperation system" on the pretext of our "nuclear problem."

The so-called "civilian" regime in south Korea is only a disguise. In fact it does not differ from the successive military dictatorial regimes. The evil anti-communist fascist laws still remain intact in south Korea, and the desire of the south Korean people for independence, democracy and national reunification is not fulfilled. It is natural that the south Korean people and public figures say that there is no need to watch the present

south Korean regime any longer and that they have nothing to expect from it.

As for our "nuclear problem", about which the United States and its lackeys are making a fuss, it is the product of the obstinate manoeuvres of the United States



Pres. Kim Il Sung as a youth

against socialism and our Republic. It is the United States that has created the fictitious "doubt about nuclear development by the north," and it is the United States that has actually shipped nuclear weapons into the Korean peninsula and has been threatening us. Therefore, the nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula must on any account be settled through Korea-United States talks.

Pressures or threats will have no effect on us; such an attempt may invite catastrophe, far from finding a solution to the problem. The United States must see all the facts squarely and behave with prudence. Since a joint statement has been adopted by Korea and the United States, the nuclear problem on the Korean peninsula can be settled fairly if both sides keep and implement the principles that have been agreed upon.

The principles and the line of our Party and the Government of our Republic on national reunification remain unchanged. In future, too, we will make every effort to reunify the country in the form of confederation which is based on one nation, one State, two systems and two Governments, on the three principles of independence, peaceful reunification and great national unity.

The destiny of the motherland is immediately the destiny of the nation, as well as the destiny of all our compatriots at home and abroad. All the Korean people in the North, in the South and abroad must launch a nationwide struggle, rallied as one under the banner of great unity of the whole nation, and open a new phase for national reunification this year.

## Palestinian-Israel Accord

cont. from page 4

One of the key issues of disagreement is how much control can be turned over to Palestinians at the entry and exit points of the self-governing areas. The Israelis have made it quite clear that they entrust their country's security only to Israel. For them this means that Israeli forces will staff the checkpoints on the Egyptian and Jordanian borders. They contend that the September 13th accord left Israel with the exclusive

responsibility for the security of its own borders.

The Israelis unfailingly interpret every ambiguous aspect of the accord in their favor. The PLO, in either unbelievable naivete or rank opportunism, is acting as if the Israelis have entered this agreement in "good faith," rather than as a tactical move for preservation.

Concerning the border crossings, Israeli Foreign Minister Shimon Peres quite candidly stated, "[O]ur main concern is, and will remain, the concern for the security of Israel."

Despite all the high-level negotiations, things on the ground continue much as before, i.e. a war of national liberation. Israelis kill Palestinians who dare assert their human right to self-determination. Palestinians exercise their right to resist oppression by continuing to wage struggle against their occupiers.

There is dissension within the PLO. Dissatisfaction with the accord has been evidenced by the resignation of several members who are based in the occupied territories. On December 27th, four senior Fatah officials resigned just before talks were scheduled to resume. There has been a great deal of

### There are many similarities between the Palestine and South Africa situations...

resentment against those whom the Tunis-based Arafat has appointed to implement the accord. Zakaria Talmas, one of the Palestinian officials in Gaza who quit, was quoted as saying, "We refuse to have leaders who have lived in five-star hotels eating fish and chocolate while our people starved. The real leaders are those in the field and not in the hotels, those who got their education in prison."



We must not forget that it is the Intifada that began in 1987 which has forced Israel to the table. The leadership of the Intifada did not come from the Tunisian based leadership but from those living in the Occupied Territories. There are many similarities between the situations in Palestine and South Africa. The Soweto Uprisings that heightened the level of struggle in South Africa did not come from the leadership based outside the country, but from the youth in the townships. The established ANC leadership, just like the PLO, had to play catchup with the masses. In both Palestine and South Africa, once the forces of oppression were forced to negotiate, they chose to do so with the "established" leadership who were prepared to accept compromises that would not fundamentally affect the status quo. It is that leadership on the ground, in the Islamic Hamas, as well as the PLO, which Israel fears and which will determine the outcome of the struggle. For one thing we have learned is that without real "justice" for the masses of people there can be no "peace."





## Billion Dollar Profits

cont. from page 14

involvement can be traced to lobbyists and government officials who receive generous campaign contributions from banks and other financial businesses to make rulings in their favor. Former President Bush's son was named as a key player in one savings and loan scandal, while former President Carter's brother was involved with a mobile home scandal in Florida. The problem is clearly the system. The struggle therefore, is to change it.

## Mao on Afro-American Struggle

cont. from page 14

In 1963, in my "Statement Supporting the Afro-Americans in Their Just Struggle Against Racial Discrimination by US Imperialism" I said that "the civil system of colonialism and imperialism arose and thrived with the enslavement of Negroes and the trade of Negroes, and it will surely come to its end with the complete emancipation of the Black people". I still maintain this view.

At present, the world revolution has entered a great new era. The struggle of the Black people in the United States for emancipation is a component part of the general struggle of all the people of the world against US imperialism, a component part of the contemporary world revolution. I call on the workers, peasants and revolutionary intellectuals of every country and all who are willing to fight against US imperialism to take action and extend strong support to the struggle of the Black people in the United States! People of the whole world, unite still more closely and launch a sustained and vigorous offensive against our common enemy, US imperialism, and against its accomplices! It can be said with certainty that the complete collapse of colonialism, imperialism and all systems of exploitation, and the complete emancipation of all the oppressed peoples and nations of the world are not far off.



*In the tradition of  
Emiliano Zapata,  
Still fighting racism*

## Why 40 Million Africans in the United States Must Support the Zapatista National Liberation Army: Eliminate NAFTA

The Zapatista National Liberation Army is an army formed of Mayan Indian descendants who follow the philosophy of the great revolutionary, Emiliano Zapata, who first led the struggle to defend the lands and liberties of Mexican peasants in 1908.

We must support them because they have taken up arms as a symbol of their willingness to protect their land, economics, culture and most important their independence.

We should support them because they have courageously dared to speak for all people of color, especially the 40 million Africans in the United States who have no land or economic independence.

Support them because they are fighting for their dignity and they are willing to die for what they believe in.

The invasion of N.A.F.T.A. (North American Free Trade Agreement) against the agricultural and economic livelihood of the Mexican people exploits their land and thus exploits their economic independence and survival.

By supporting them, we insure our own economic independence and survival.

The United States was built on the sweat, blood and backs of Africans, which is the same situation occurring in Mexico (slave labor).

The success of N.A.F.T.A. will mean that companies will fire workers in the United States and force Mexican workers to work under slave labor wages and conditions.

We must prepare ourselves to take control of our economic means of production.

The struggle for national liberation by Zapatistas reflects our years of struggle as African people. If N.A.F.T.A. is successful, we as an African People will pay the price. Our next generation will be affected because there will be no jobs for them and this society will continue to profit from the exploitation of African people in the United States.

Mary Lou Johnson

Dear Editor,

I am appalled at what's been happening in Mexico. This reminds me of Vietnam. It is to the degree that I have to write this letter to let you know that I am concerned about the welfare of the Mexican people in Chiapas. The Zapatista Liberation Movement are the only ones that are doing something which reminds me of Peru.

Yours truly,  
David Jackson

# Arm the Masses Readers Write In to Support the Mexican Uprising



The government of President Carlos Salinas of Mexico, have at last decided to share with the world that there is more to its country and people than Cancun and Guadalajara. They have received the wake up call. For most North Americans these places readily come to mind because of television game shows.

However, for many of us we may just have to tune our set a bit sharper; because on January 1st the Zapatista National Liberation Army (ZNLA), as reported by conservative US media, has liberated provinces in the south of Mexico. This perhaps may have surprised many in the US public; however, the ZNLA has been waging an ongoing struggle within Chiapas State since they realized that the Yankees wanted to recolonize the Mexican people by way of North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). On January 1st, Salinas conceded that the towns of San Cristobel, Ocosingo and Los Margaritas had been liberated by the ZNLA. I believe working people all over the world should wholeheartedly support the Zapatista National Liberation Army.

Aiesha Stokes

Dear Sir:

There is a need for your paper to express a position of solidarity for the indigenous people of Mexico. Why? Because they represent in the world any and all oppressed people. They are expressing a course of action we Afrikans here in Amerikkka need to give some serious thought as the correct course of action.

Martin Luther King, Jr. expressed the tactic of confrontation. Well, over a period of time Black people must be helped along in the process of raising the level of resistance. The oppressors must be made to believe that there is a greater price that they will have to pay as a result of their continued will to oppress poor and rich Black people. NAFTA represents more

sucking of the economic life from another underdeveloped nation of people of color. Viva Zapatistas! because the Nation of 40 million Afrikans here in the US to which I belong, also suffer economic desterilization perpetrated upon us by the same businessmen and owners of multi-national corporations who have gathered at the trough to suck more and more profit, at the expense of the indigenous and working class men and women of Mexico.

If your paper is truly about pushing us, Black people, to a level of critical thinking and analysis upon through the information you provide, then you owe it to us to open up some dialogue around the uprising of the poor people of Mexico.

Death to NAFTA!! No US intervention in Mexico!!!

The struggle continues,  
Mark Williams

Dear Sirs:

Since the break up of the Soviet Union, the West's propaganda has been that socialism is dead. That socialism does not work. That socialism is against the masses. On the other hand, capitalism is going to last forever. That capitalism is better than socialism. That it doesn't exploit the masses of people, and that it brings democracy.

The next thing that happens is that peasants in Mexico starts an armed rebellion. Because one of the reasons is NAFTA, and capitalistic venture that was to bring business to Mexico's large land mass. The peasants' only way to survive is by using their land, now the United States wants to develop it and that means death to those people who live there. So, they see a need to rebel and build a social society as they see it. How they see building it is first by armed struggle against the existing government. They see destroying NAFTA and cultivating their land so that everyone can benefit, not just the American agribusiness. They see NAFTA as taking away jobs, land, food and culture from the indigenous Indians. They want to continue to enjoy their culture, their land and their way of living. They are organized, they understand it is a protracted struggle, but one that they must endure to be free.

Sincerely,  
Elias Wilcox

**MORE  
LETTERS  
ON  
MEXICO  
UPRISING**



## Letters To The Editor

### View From the Field...

Malcolm X in his classical presentation of class struggle within the Black Nation, characterizes his status as a "Field Negro;" a part of the masses of Black people whose relationship to the slaveholder was the sting of the lash.

It is this viewpoint and support ATM welcomes and encourages. From you in the racist schools to the penal colonies, from the barracks of American mercenary troops to the death houses called hospitals.

*From the wretched of the Earth...*

Dear Editor,

The recent uprising in Mexico by indigenous peasants against the government is testament that people make history and that socialism is not dead. The fact that they chose to make war on the date NAFTA took effect is a clear sign that no one considered their opinion and how the "free trade agreement" would impact on their lives. Just as 40 million African Americans, the descendants of former captured slaves as well as indigenous people of the US share the same oppressive conditions of being ignored by a system of government that has and continues to extract as much profit from our labor.

The demand of the Zapatista Army denouncing NAFTA is correct. The number of dead and injured will continue to rise as the government tries to take their land.

Editor, what is your position on this and why have African Americans not heard it?

*Yours truly,  
Abdul Malik*

Editor,

As an African belonging to an oppressed nation, existing right here in the United States, the recent rebellion in Mexico is of great interest and political importance. the Zapatista Army of National Liberation is a response to the wretched conditions in Mexico. Specifically, the indigenous population recognize that "NAFTA is a death sentence."

Mexico has long been a market exploited by developed countries, primarily the United States, in terms of cheap labor, agricultural and manufacturing costs. NAFTA is simply a plan to separate the indigenous from their land in order to allow the multi-national corporations to freely exploit the Mexican people as modern slaves.

The Zapatista Army of National Liberation realizes that power never negotiates. They desire, rather, demand their human right to be self-determining and the right to development. Such demands cannot be attained through IMF, World Bank, structural adjustment agreements and certainly not NAFTA.

I am demanding that the United States not intervene in the righteous rebellion. NAFTA must be stopped immediately. It is an agreement not signed by the indigenous/the masses of oppressed Mexicans.

The struggle of the Zapatistas must be supported because it is a struggle against capitalist exploitation and imperialism. Vivan los Zapatistas.

*Maria Garcia*

*To our friends in the African American Media,*

It is with some disappointment that we have observed the lack of political analysis of the revolutionary struggle currently underway in Mexico. Surprisingly, while many in the major media have unequivocally defined the recent outbreak as a liberation struggle of oppressed indigenous Mayans against brutal Mexican capitalists, who are all descendants of the conquering Spaniards, there has been no serious discussion of the relationship of the Zapata National Liberation Army to the struggle for liberation of the African Americans in the United States.

Not only must African Americans understand the need for our unconditional support for the ZNLA, but we need to understand that the conditions that created the necessity to elevate their struggle are very much present for us in America.

It is also important to note that while it has been pointed out that the actions were in protest to the recent signing of NAFTA, the ZNLA has distributed an information booklet which describes their objectives and identifies the abuses which left them no choice but "freedom or death."

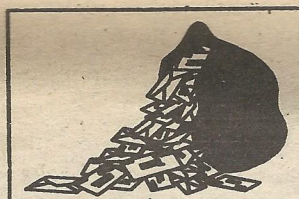
They have made it clear that they expect no swift, miraculous military victory, yet they have courageously made the decision, to fight for 30 years if necessary, to throw off the yoke of oppression under which they have been for almost 500 years.

This should not necessarily be interpreted as a call for armed struggle in America as the solution, at least not yet. It is however, a wake up call for us to seriously examine the true nature of our oppression and develop definitive strategies for our liberation. The African American media must serve in a pro-active role in organizing the masses towards this end.



Villagers at Ozonga, Chiapas, gather at body of slain rebel soldier.

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*Violence is Amerikkka...*



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